

# THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. VIII.—NEW SERIES, No. 152.]

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If the times in which we live are politically portentous, it may with equal truth be said, as regards our own beloved country, that they are socially auspicious; especially in reference to the progress of public opinion, as to the reformatory and conservative power of education, and the means which are in active operation to extend its benign advantages throughout the range of civil society. The seed of moral and religious instruction has been scattered broadcast through the land, and will assuredly (under the Divine blessing) bring forth fruit abundantly after its kind. There abound among us Infant and Orphan Schools, where the offspring of poverty and misfortune are nurtured and trained aright; ere yet the embryo mind is intelligent of evil;—Sunday Schools, where the influence of weekly contact with many an unholly and corrupting scene, is counteracted by the hallowed and hallowing principles of Scriptural truth;—Ragged Schools, where self-denying devoted men endue the affronts and assaults of juvenile ruffians—gathered from the haunts of improvidence, profligacy, and vice—in order to grasp the gem of human intellect, and divest it of its impure and vitiating infoldings. This they have accomplished, and (as we have lately heard from the eloquent lips of their distinguished patron), so successfully, that the example of reclaimed children has, in numerous instances, effected a complete reformation in the manners and conduct of the parent, friend, or associate; thus demonstrating the power and importance of education as hopeful sources of security for our land.

But whilst we have been stimulated, by the sad consequences of long neglect, to energetic action on behalf of the poor and outcast, have we not been stationary and inert as regards the instruction of youth in the middle rank of society, which is unquestionably the happiest and most favourable for the cultivation of our moral and intellectual nature,—the depository of every public and domestic virtue,—and where, as the home of our best affections, existence finds its most attractive and almost romantic charm? Our academies are, for the most part, too subject to scholastic routine, and partake too much of a *trade* character; they are, in the main, deficient of that paternal care, under which obedience is yielded and propriety sustained, through a created and cultivated sense of what is right.

The aim of the Conductors of the BRIGHTON SCHOOL is to prove the value of a system in which the inculcation of sound Biblical principles, and useful elevated knowledge, will be associated with an earnest affectionate government, calculated to render the educational probation one of delight to their pupils, and to instil and cherish in their minds the love of whatever is imitable and good.

For Prospects, apply to the Rev. ROBERT WINTER, 47, East-street, Brighton.

Brighton, July 20th, 1848.

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## JUBILEE FUND.

### THE AMOUNT OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE COMMITTEE gratefully acknowledge that the receipts of this Special Fund rather exceed £2,000. They look at the present contributions as an earnest of the intentions of their friends, and entertain a sanguine hope that future generous offerings will raise the Jubilee Fund to an amount which will enable them to devise liberal things for Ireland, and the opening countries on the Continent of Europe, without entrenching upon the Society's ordinary income.

WHAT HAS THE SOCIETY DONE SINCE LAST YEAR?

The following grants have been made:—Austria, £100; Germany, £355; France, £310; Switzerland, £11; Italy, £10; Ireland, £186; making a total of £1,082.

### WHAT DOES THE SOCIETY INTEND TO DO SPECIALLY FOR IRELAND?

The Committee have determined to publish a few brief, practical, evangelical tracts, by competent writers thoroughly acquainted with the character of the Irish people. Also small volumes for Romanists, to counteract the evil tendency and influence of the books entitled, "The Path to Paradise," and "The Key to Heaven,"—two highly popular Roman Catholic books. A cheap edition of "The Life of Martin Boos," a useful work for extensive circulation in Ireland, is contemplated.

WHAT DOES THE SOCIETY INTEND TO DO FOR THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE?

It has been determined to offer prizes for good, evangelical tracts, adapted to the present circumstances of France, Italy, and Germany. The subjects of the tracts, and the parties to adjudicate upon them, will be shortly arranged.

Other plans are being arranged for the permanent circulation of Divine truth on the Continent, which they hope to be able soon to mature.

### A NEEDFUL CAUTION.

It is necessary to remind the contributors, that comparatively little good will be done, if the special funds raised for the Society trespass on its general income. The following grants have been made since the close of the last annual accounts:—China, paid and voted, £350; India, Ceylon, and Singapore, £1,500; the British Colonies, £350; Russia, £100; Great Britain, £1,000.—Total, £3,300.

Although the times are depressing, yet the Committee hope their appeal will not be unsuccessful. A Jubilee effort may never occur again in the times of the ministers and laymen who are now the active agents in the Saviour's cause. Shall the present season then be overlooked?

A volume, containing a history of the Society, will be presented to every donor or collector of one guinea and upwards, to the Jubilee Fund. Jubilee Collecting Books will be forwarded on application to Mr. Jones, 56, Paternoster-row.

Contributions will be gratefully received by the Society's Officers, at No. 56, Paternoster-row, London.

The following Contributions to the Jubilee Fund are gratefully acknowledged by the Committee:—

Contributions previously acknowledged.... £1,869 10s. 8d.

£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Collection at Clapton Chapel, after Service by Rev. Jas. Sherman.....	44 2 3	
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At 1st of March, 1838 ....	£612 871	
Ditto 1842 ....	1,083 067	
Ditto 1848 ....	2,984 87	
Amount Assured.	Annual Revenue.	Accumulated Fund.
		£40 974
	61 85.	191 496
	110 700.	445 671

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TO-MORROW EVENING (THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12), GEORGE GROSSMITH, Esq., will deliver the First of Two LECTURES on "WIT and ILLUMOUR." To commence at Eight o'Clock.

Admission—Members free on producing their Tickets, with the privilege of obtaining Tickets for their Friends at Sixpence each. Non-Subscribers, One Shilling.

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Established January 1, 1847.

Removed to 189, Strand, and 37, Arundel-street. Entrance from Arundel-street.

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On October 16, at Three o'clock p.m., will be commenced a JUNIOR, and at Six p.m., a SENIOR, MEDICAL and NON-MEDICAL CLASS of GENERAL INSTRUCTION. The Junior Course will embrace the subjects required for matriculation in the University of London; the Senior, those required for the degree of B.A.

Fee for each Course, £5 15s. 6d.

For prospectuses, &c., apply at the Institute; if by letter, to Dr. Cooke.

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Will be published, on the 1st of December, price 6d., The

REFORMER'S ALMANACK  
AND  
POLITICAL YEAR-BOOK FOR 1849.

The year 1848 has been signalized by events unparalleled in interest, and affecting, either directly or remotely, every country in Europe. England has happily been spared these violent convulsions; but, while order has been respected, dissatisfaction with the working of our political institutions has been so generally and loudly expressed, that Legislative changes, more or less extensive, are both admitted to be necessary, and felt to be inevitable. That they will be effected without a struggle is more than can be anticipated; and this struggle, whether brief or protracted, will unquestionably be severe. That it will be of a pacific character also, cannot be doubted; but to that end there must be such a persevering employment of facts, arguments, and appeals, as will render Reform the result of intelligent conviction, rather than of vague impulse or tumultuous fear.

It is to assist in furthering this work that the "Reformer's Almanack" has been projected. While containing all the information usually supplied by such works, its contents will be adapted to the especial use of Reformers throughout the kingdom, who, whatever may be their minor differences, are united in labouring for the removal of political wrongs and the recognition of political rights.

Among other topics, it will furnish, in a succinct form, a variety of particulars demonstrating the injustice and absurdity of our present representative system, and the effects of that system as seen in multiplied political, financial, and ecclesiastical abuses.

The subject of taxation and expenditure, which, during the late session, attracted so large a share of public attention, will form a prominent feature; and the evidence of mismanagement and wastefulness in the disposal of public money, which has been elicited by recent inquiries, will be presented in such a shape as to render it easy of access, and permanently valuable.

Embracing the latest information on the leading political questions of the day, collected from various scattered sources—official and other statistics, compiled with care and integrity—a record of public events during the present year, together with practical directions respecting the Registration, it will form both "a Year Book for 1848, and a Directory for 1849."

London : AYLOTT and JONES, 8, Paternoster-row.

Now ready, in One Volume, Royal 18mo, price 2s. 6d.,

## ETHICS OF NONCONFORMITY,

AND

## WORKINGS OF WILLINGHOOD.

Reprinted from the "Nonconformist."

BY EDWARD MIALL.

The republication of these essays in a separate form is most seasonable, and can scarcely fail to be productive of much good. It is not necessary that we should describe them. They are like all the productions of their author, lucid, nervous, logical, and earnest; and we know few better services that can be rendered to nonconformity than the extensive diffusion of such a volume. We are especially solicitous that our young men should make it their chosen companion. It will serve at once to brace their intellects, and to deepen their attachment to those sacred principles which lie at the basis of genuine Christianity."

*Eclectic Review.*

"Here, in the compass of a small volume, we have a series of articles from the 'Nonconformist' in vindication of 'liberty of conscience.' Mr. Miall has won so many admirers throughout the country, by his vigorous and powerful advocacy of perfect religious freedom, that little doubt can be entertained of the wide and ready diffusion of this new tribute to a cause which he loves so devotedly and serves so well."—*Gateshead Observer.*

"This neat little volume is a reprint of the able and interesting series of Essays which appeared, under the above titles, in the 'Nonconformist' last year. We perused many of the essays, as they originally appeared from time to time, with much gratification, and we have no doubt they will meet with, as they deserve, an extensive circulation in their present more convenient and connected shape."—*Leicester Mercury.*

"These Essays display mental powers of a very high order. They are the production of Mr. Miall, and were designed to call attention to the special importance, in these times, of rendering faithful to divine truth in this particular department, and to the practical modes in which it ought to display itself. If this end be not accomplished the author cannot bear the blame, or even share it, for he has faithfully and zealously fulfilled his part. He has discussed the numerous topics connected with this great subject with such clearness in his expositions, such artlessness in his illustrations, such cogency in his reasonings, and such power in his applications, as will carry conviction of the truth of its leading principles to many minds among all classes of his readers."—*Universe.*

"The literary merits of Mr. Miall's work are considerable. The style is vigorous and lively, abounding with illustrations. Perhaps the book would have gained in real value if its author could have forgotten newspaper exigency in the matter of point. As a series of newspaper articles, however, they must have done much towards raising the *Nonconformist* to its high position amongst the dissenting organs."—*Manchester Examiner.*

London : AYLOTT and JONES, 8, Paternoster-row.

## JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEES.

THE celebrity which these delicious COFFEES have attained is quite unparalleled. The enormous demand created for them throughout Great Britain and Ireland is a sufficient indication of the manner in which they are appreciated by those individuals and families who have made trial of them. The excellence of the COFFEES imported by JOHN CASSELL, and sold by his Agents, consists in their great strength, combined with rich and mellow flavour, peculiar to the world's finest growths. At the same time they are sold at prices usually charged for very inferior articles. The following are the prices at which any quantity, from two ounces to one pound, may be obtained:—

JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, No. 1, an excellent article.	1s. 4d.
JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, No. 2, cannot fail to give satisfaction, being a combination of the choicest growths of Jamaica, possessing richness, strength, and flavour.	1s. 8d.
JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, No. 3, to every connoisseur in Coffee this will prove a treat, combining the finest mountain growths of both Jamaica and Turkey.	2s. 0d.

Each Package forms a handsome Catty, lined with lead, so that the aroma and essential oil—which constitute the excellence of a cup of really good Coffee—are most effectually preserved.

CAUTION TO FAMILIES.—The great celebrity and extensive sale of the above Coffees, have induced others to send out articles which prove to be gross imitations. To prevent being thus imposed upon, buyers are requested to ask for JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, and to see that the packages bear his signature, without which none are genuine.

\* All applications for this valuable AGENCY to be made direct to JOHN CASSELL, Abchurch-lane, London.

## IMPORTANT TO EMIGRANTS!

SAMUEL, BROTHERS, TAILORS and OUTFITTERS, 29, LUDGATE-HILL, invite attention to the following, from all Persons about to Emigrate to Quebec, New Brunswick, West Indies, Cape of Good Hope, Sydney, China, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or any other Colonies throughout the World. 75,547 Emigrants quit Great Britain every year.

SAMUEL, BROTHERS, impressed with a deep anxiety for the comfort of those who are about to quit their native land, respectfully beg to intimate that they have added an important feature to their extensive and well-known Establishment, 29, Ludgate-hill, namely, an Outfitting Department for Emigrants.

To the humble class of Emigrants this is a consideration of the utmost importance, as each man is bound by the 20th rule of the Government Regulations to provide himself with two complete Suits, at least, of good New Clothing, before he can be allowed a free passage.—(See Government Circular to Emigrants.) Now two Suits of Clothes cannot be expected to last a working man more than a couple of years, and at the end of that period he will be compelled to submit to the ruinous charges of the Colonists, and thus expend that portion of his hard earnings which should contribute towards his future independence. But by purchasing his Outfit at the "Emigrant's Mart" he may at least double his stock of Clothing for the same money.

The following list of articles and prices will, it is hoped, convince an enterprising public of what has been above asserted:—

## EMIGRANT'S OUTFITS FOR £4.

Two Strong Jackets.	AN OUTFIT FOR £7 10s.
One do. Trousers.	One Over Coat.
One Flushing do.	One Superior Cloth Frock Coat.
Two Vests.	Two Fancy Vests.
One Duck Frock.	One ditto, with Sleeves.
One Scotch Cap.	One Black Cloth Trousers.
One Hat.	One Beaverite Jacket.
Twelve Striped Cotton Shirts.	One ditto lined warm.
Two Pair Shoes.	One ditto Trouser ditto.
Six Handkerchiefs.	One Fancy ditto.
Twelve Cotton Hose.	One Duck Frock.
Six Towels.	One Scotch Cap.
Razors, Shaving Box, Strop, and Glass.	One Hat.
One Knife and Fork.	Twelve Striped Cotton Shirts.
One Tin Plate.	Two Pair Shoes.
One Pint Tin Mug.	Six Handkerchiefs.
One Table and Tea-spoon.	Twelve Cotton Hose.
Hair Brush and Comb.	One Table Spoon and One Tea do.
Four lbs. Marine Soap.	One Pint Tin Mug.
Bed and One Blanket.	One Table Spoon and One Tea do.
One Counterpane.	Six lbs. Marine Soap.
One Pair Sheets.	One Comb and Hair Brush.
One Chest with Lock.	One Clothes Brush.
	Shoe Brushes and Blacking.
	Bed and One Pair Blankets.
	Two Pair Sheets and Three Pillowcases.
	One Strong Chest with Lock.

EXTRACT FROM THE GOVERNMENT ABSTRACTS.—"It cannot be too strongly impressed as a general rule, that the more abundant the stock of Clothing each person can afford to take, the better for his health, comfort, and prosperity."

Observe the address:—SAMUEL, BROTHERS, Tailors, Oufitters, Woollen Drapers, &c., 29, Ludgate Hill, two doors from the Old Bailey.

## The Nonconformist.

SHILLING COFFEE.  
CITY TEA WAREHOUSE, 60, GRACECHURCH-STREET.  
COFFEE FOR THE MILLION.—ONE SHILLING PER POUND,  
Or 7lbs. for 6s. 6d.

ABBISS AND COMPANY beg to call the particular attention of the public to this extraordinarily good and cheap Coffee. Fresh Roasted every day.

TEAS.	s. d.
Strong Congou, perfectly sound, and very serviceable	3 2
Really Good Congou, an excellent Breakfast Tea	3 4
Pekoe Souchong Congou; this is a very strong, rough, and full flavoured Tea.	4 0
The Finest Congou—rich, ripe, full, and fragrant.	4 4
Strong Young Hyson	3 4
Good Gunpowder, very serviceable for mixing	4 0
Choice Gunpowder (finest)	5 0
Abbiess and Co.'s Mixture of Four Fine Teas (Black and Green), a delicious Tea	5 0

COFFEES.

Choice Plantation; rich mellow flavour.	1 4
Very fine; mountain flavour.	1 6
Notice.—Two Pounds of Fine Coffee (ground hot from the cylinder, preserving all the fine aroma) for Half-a-crown, canister included.	

N.B.—Caution.—Beware of very low-priced Teas. The Duty on all Teas is 2s. 2d. per lb.; the merchant's lowest price for sound Congou is 9d. per lb.—Calculate the cost.

ABBISS AND COMPANY, 60, Gracechurch-street.

SNOWDENS PATENT PURIFIED and DRESSED COFFEE, rendered more wholesome for use.

A very important improvement in the article of Coffee having been discovered by us, for which discovery we have obtained her Majesty's Royal Letters Patent, we submit the principle to your attention.

The process of dressing we cannot urge too strongly on your notice, as this is one of the most important parts of our invention. After the Coffee is purified and roasted, it passes into a Cracking or Crushing Apparatus; from thence it goes into our Patent Dressing Machine, by which means we entirely remove from the internal part of the Coffee all that Fibre, or Pith, encircling the heart of the Berry, which may be easily seen by breaking it between the finger and thumb and examining it. This Fibre, or Pith, has always, up to the time of our Patent, been ground up with the Coffee, and, when ground, being in such fine particles, and of a light, floating tendency, is the great cause of the difficulty of fining or clarifying it.

We have submitted our Coffee to some of the most eminent Analytical Chemists of the Metropolis, who assert that we remove the great obstacle of fining or clarifying, and that what we do remove is injurious, more particularly to persons with weak stomachs.

The following testimonial is from Dr. Ure, the celebrated Professor of Chemistry:—

"24, Bloomsbury-square, London, Nov. 27th, 1847.

"Having carefully examined the Patent of Mr. Robert Snowden, for improvements in treating and dressing Coffee, I have much pleasure in expressing my highest approbation of it. He, first of all, purifies the berry, then roasts it slightly, so as to detach the coarse, fibrous pellicles from its surface, also the chaffy pith of the centre, commonly called the wing, a light, tough fibre, which, after grinding, is apt to pass through the filter, and cannot be separated by fining, but, when swallowed, creates irritation of the gut and stomach. The removal of this pith is a most valuable part of this invention, and, joined to his other improvements, will enable Mr. Snowden to produce from average berries a wholerome and more delicious Coffee than any now in the market.

ANDREW URE, M.D., F.R.S., &amp;c.

"Professor of Chemistry, and Analytical Chemist."

This Coffee may be had in 3lb., 6lb., and 12lb. canisters in its dressed state, deprived of all its internal fibre, ready for grinding, or already ground for use, by addressing to the Patentees,

R. SNOWDEN AND COMPANY,

Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa-dealers, City-road and East-road, London.

PRESENT CASH PRICES.

Plantation, or Java	1 4
Costa Rica, or Jamaica	1 6
Old Mocha, or Turkey	1 8
Very choice Mocha (very little now in England).	2 0

Retailers in large towns would double their Coffee Trade in three months, by taking licence under this Patent.

COFFEE FOR INVALIDS.—All persons troubled with indigestion, weak stomachs, or consumptive habits, may drink SNOWDEN'S PATENT-PURIFIED DRESSED COFFEE, without suffering that irritation which coffee ground upon the common principle subjects them to. All fibre is removed from the internal part before grinding. See Dr. Ure's testimonial. Sold only in London by the patentees, R. & SNOWDEN and CO., City-road, and East-road, London. Dressed or ground, 1s. 4d., 1s. 8d., and 2s. 2d. sent to any part of the town. 12lb. sent to any part of the country.

RICHARD A. C. LOADER, UPHOLSTERER, 24, PAVEMENT, FINSBURY, begs most respectfully to call the attention of Families and the Public to the following articles, all of which are made out of well-seasoned materials:—

2 s. d.	
Sweep-back mahogany chairs, with loose seats, in best satin-hair seating.	0 14 6
Ditto, ditto, with fast seats.	0 10 6
Mahogany Couches to match, from	3 3 0
Solid mahogany loo tables, fold.	1 16 0
Ditto, rosewood drawing-room chairs, stuffed, and covered in damask.	0 13 6
Couches to match, from	3 0 0
Mahogany chests of drawers, polished, from	1 18 0
Ditto, extra size.	2 15 0
Japanned chest of drawers, from	1 10 0
Dressing glasses, from	0 6 0
Chimney glasses, best plate, from	1 8 0
24, Pavement, Finsbury.—R. A. C. LOADER.	

ROYAL VICTORIA FELT CARPETING, PATRONISED BY HER MAJESTY, AND USED IN THE ROYAL PALACES AND THE NEW HOUSE OF LORDS.

THOSE who study economy are strongly recommended to use this description of Carpeting, which, from its durability, beauty of pattern, and brilliancy of colouring, is equal to Brussels, and, costing less than half the price, is now being generally substituted for it.

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# THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

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concluding public service with a benediction—using a liturgy—attending public worship twice every Sunday. It will not, we presume, be contended that any one of these things done at the bidding of a sense of comeliness, or in obedience to the dictates of conscience, is in itself sinful. It will hardly, we think, be maintained, that were the civil magistrate to enjoin these things, it would become, thenceforth, the duty of every Christian to perform them. And yet, if the logic be sound, upon such a preposterous conclusion are we irresistibly driven.

The fallacy lies in the first proposition with which the Editor starts. It is not true that the mere enactment of a thing by a human legislature cannot alter the moral character of that thing—or which is the real idea meant, alter the moral obligation of Christian men in regard to that thing. Human law must have a twofold claim upon *duty*—rightful authority to enjoin, and absence of sinfulness in the thing enjoined. We have to consider in order to rational obedience, not merely *what* the law is, but *whence*. An action indifferent in its own nature may become sin when done in recognition of an usurped authority. It is not wrong—nay, it is incumbent upon us, to pay taxes—but a law of the King of Hanover, demanding of the subjects of Queen Victoria payment of taxes to him, although it would not alter our moral obligation to pay taxes in general, would make it our duty to disobey him in such a matter. The Editor of the *Congregationalist* might perhaps object that in the case supposed, the enactment would be a nullity, because representative of no power which subjects, within the realms of our Queen, are bound to recognise. Precisely so—then his first proposition ought to be thus expressed—a man's moral relation to a thing cannot be altered by the mere fact of enjoining it upon him by law, when the law so enjoining it represents a legitimate authority. We challenge our opponent, if his logic dare, to ask more than this—and on our part, this we most cheerfully grant him. Now, then, for the use to be made of it.

We shall believe, until we are expressly informed by himself to the contrary, that the Editor of the *Scottish Congregational Magazine*, a delegate to the Triennial Conference, and the President of an annual public meeting, of the British Anti-state-church Association, has a settled conviction that Christ himself has laid down the law for the maintenance of the institutions and ordinances which pertain to his spiritual kingdom—that He possesses the requisite authority for so doing, and possesses it exclusively—that human legislatures cannot enact regulations touching this matter, much less set aside as inefficient and untrustworthy the arrangement of the Lord himself, without assuming the prerogative of Christ—that such assumption is, an unconscious, it may be, but still a wicked, usurpation of the authority of our acknowledged spiritual Sovereign—that knowingly and voluntarily to recognise the authority thus usurped is incompatible with the allegiance due from us to Him—and that the payment of taxes to the usurping power, in furtherance, moreover, of its usurpation, is a practical recognition of the authority it dares to claim. Let our editorial friend try his logic upon this mode of putting the argument—and if, by means of syllogistic tests, he can discover a flaw in the reasoning, we shall hold ourselves really indebted to him if he will point it out. We cannot, of course, say how other consciences should be affected by this view of the question—but for ourselves, inconvenient as we have occasionally found a refusal, we could not pay ecclesiastical imposts without a sense of treachery to Him whom we recognise as sole Master in the spiritual kingdom—and, therefore, we endeavour with all meekness to endure the consequences.

But there is something special, we are told, in the Edinburgh Annuity-tax, and that no one can consistently plead conscience in defence of a refusal to pay it, because there is no necessity for a man to occupy a house within the incidence of the tax. Now we always thought that the permission, when persecuted in one city to flee to an-

other, was one the adoption of which is left solely to prudential considerations. Doubtless a man may lawfully, if on mature consideration he should deem it preferable, choose his residence on the outside of the circle within which usurpation enforces its enactments. But what if he do not deem it preferable? Is he thereupon bound to submit to the usurpation? Is he to doff his conscience within certain districts because the Legislature has declared, "Within these limits I will be lawgiver to the church?" If the authority is bad at all, it is bad everywhere; and everywhere we are equally entitled—nay, bound—to resist it. The question as to whether we will endure the penalty of resistance, or avoid incurring it by living elsewhere, is a question of prudence, not involving in any manner the rights of conscience. If not, to what an absurdity are we driven! The same spurious authority which enjoins payment of an ecclesiastical impost within the Royalty of Edinburgh, may enjoin it throughout the British dominions. But has a man no right to remain in his native country, and plead conscience against the recognition of usurped power therein? Suppose all the governments of this world to assert a similar claim, is that man who conscientiously rejects it divested of his right to dwell upon his mother earth? Usurpation is usurpation just as much in Edinburgh as in Glasgow; and wherever a man's ordinary calling takes him, thither he is called by Providence to resist it. Legitimate rights can never, on any spot of the globe, be nullified by illegitimate pretensions.

As to the practical difficulty of carrying out this repudiation of unwarranted authority, we see no argument in it, save to the selfishness of human nature. This or that exhibition of recusancy may be wanting in perfect consistency, but it only proves infirmity in the party displaying it. The acuteness of vision which, while it overlooks obedience to a great principle, can detect the smallest imperfection in one's mode of displaying it, is not, to say the least, a generous qualification. The real sacrifice which a man makes for the sake of his convictions ought not to be ridiculed because that sacrifice falls short of the whole that enlightened conviction might prompt. To square our own duty by others' shortcomings is not recommended by Christian morality.

But we transgress our usual limits. We grieve to see so able and so good a man as the Editor of the *Scottish Congregational Magazine* pursuing, every now and then, such an erratic course, as if his moral sentiments were subject, at seasons, to a kind of St. Vitus's dance, moving his judgment into strange freaks, and exciting amongst the friends who esteem him most the greatest surprise and the keenest pity. No one will suspect him of the fear of man; but it is quite unnecessary for him to assert his independence by rashly doing battle with principles nearest of kin to his own. Ingenuity is not always truth, nor logic reason. If the Editor would trust more to his spiritual instincts, and less to his intellectual originality, he might not be so often brilliant as he is, but he would be less frequently unsound—the light which he emits would be less meteoric, but it would be more constant, and therefore more useful. The flash may blind those who admire—it is the star which guides.

## THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ASSOCIATION.

—Five vacancies have lately occurred in the managing body by the death of Dr. Payne and Dr. Hamilton, and the resignation of Messrs. Alexander, Child, and F. Clarke, who have withdrawn to make way for other gentlemen better able to give their active service to the Association. Their successors have been chosen by the members of the Council, according to the provisions of the Society's constitution, the names of the gentlemen chosen being the following:—William Edwards, Esq., of Denmark Hill; Nathaniel Griffin, Esq., Temple; Rev. D. Katterus, Hackney; Thos. Thompson, Esq., Founds-lord-park; and Mr. J. Carvell Williams, the secretary.

ANTI-STATE CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—Mr. Kingsley, the Society's lecturer, has left town for a tour in Derbyshire. He will lecture this week at Burton-on-Trent, Ilkeston, Ripley, and Alfreton; and next week at Belper, Chesterfield, Derby, and other places. We believe that he then proceeds to Dudley, Wolverhampton, and to several towns in Staffordshire.

We might amuse our readers by a choice variety of syllogisms constructed upon this same basis. Thus—Constituting a thing civil law does not alter the moral character of it—bowing at the name of Jesus is not in itself sinful—therefore it is not sinful to obey a civil law enjoining it—and therefore, to spare our readers the tedium of the second syllogism, the act not being in itself sinful, every Christian is bound to obey the law which requires it. Try the logic with the following list of sundries—Lighting wax candles at the celebration of the Lord's supper—wearing a white surplice during prayer, and a black gown in preaching—

GREAT ANTI-STATE-CHURCH MEETING  
AT FINSBURY CHAPEL.

The autumnal meeting of this association was held on Wednesday evening, at Finsbury chapel, which was crowded in every part by a most respectable and enthusiastic audience, who were drawn together, not only by attachment to the principles of the society, but by a feeling of anxiety respecting the threatened endowment of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland, which was expected to form a prominent topic in the proceedings. On the platform, which was densely crowded by Dissenting ministers and laymen of various denominations, we noticed Edward Miall, Esq.; Rev. John Burnet; Dr. Massie; Nathaniel Griffin, Esq.; Dr. Jenkyn; Dr. Hutton; Edward Swaine, Esq.; W. H. Ashurst, Esq.; Dr. Macfarlane, of Glasgow; Rev. John Gordon, of Coventry; Rev. Andrew Reed, of Norwich; Rev. J. Webb, of Ipswich; Rev. J. Clapp, of Appledore; Dr. Thomson, of Coldstream; S. Grundy, Esq., of Leicester; Charles Reed, Esq.; William Edwards, Esq.; Rev. H. Richard; Rev. R. Ainslie; Rev. T. James; Rev. M. A. Garvey; John Thwaites, Esq.; John Cassell, Esq.; Henry Edwards, Esq.; Dr. Oxley; Rev. J. J. Waite, of Ilminster; William Baines, Esq., of Leicester; Rev. W. Grosier; Rev. T. Thoresby; Rev. W. Miall; Mr. J. Carvell Williams; Rev. W. H. Bonner; Rev. F. Trestail; Rev. C. Dukes; Robert Besley, Esq.; E. Clarke, Esq.; John Kingsley, Esq.; George Simmons, Esq.; T. H. Fry, Esq.; F. Brewin, Esq., of Denmark-hill.

EDWARD MIALL, Esq., being called to the chair, amid loud cheers, commenced his remarks by expressing his deep regret that Dr. Price, to whose qualifications as a chairman he paid a high compliment, should have been prevented occupying his accustomed post, by a recent bereavement in his family. He then continued:—Our aim, as most of you are well aware, is the liberation of religion from all State interference. This is our one object, and we intend no other. The respective merits, for example, of creeds, or systems of ecclesiastical discipline, it is not our purpose or plan to decide. We contend that all creeds, and all religious systems, should stand or fall, exclusively, upon their own merits. We are not against any—in this capacity, we profess no attachment to any—but we say that all should be placed in a fair relative position, with regard to each other and to the public. Our principles may be summed up in the motto, "Protection to all, patronage and payment to none" [cheers]. We purpose pursuing this object to its fullest extent. We have no opinion of taking up a principle by halves, and working it only in reference to a particular injury which may affect our own private interests. We would carry our opposition to the interference of Government so far as we may undo the past, as well as prevent the future; take down the ecclesiastical establishments which already do exist, as well as prevent the formation of others which exist at present only in the imagination of the statesmen of our times [cheers]. Nor can we be justly charged—as we are charged by a reviewer in the last number of the *English Review*—with being simply prepared to destroy everything that we meet with, and unable to propose anything to fill up the vacuum. We aim to destroy nothing. We do aim, it is true, to place the Church and State in an altogether different relation towards each other to that which they now occupy. But we shall leave all that is good—we touch only that which is evil. We do not consider it to be a duty devolving upon us to present a novel truth for the regeneration of the world. Christ has given us that truth already. We simply wish to free it from all by which it is bound. We go further than those individuals who simply state as their maxim, "No further endowments of religion!" for if they be good, they should not stop where they are—if they be evil, we ought to withdraw them from those who already enjoy them [hear, hear]. This is to be the first of some eight or nine meetings intended to be held in the metropolitan boroughs during the next eight or nine months. We are about to enter on our autumnal and winter campaign. We have arranged to cover large districts of the country, which were not occupied by our deputations or our lecturers during the past year. Early in the ensuing week deputations will proceed to South Wales, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Derbyshire, for the purpose of instilling our sentiments into the minds of the people there. We have some six or eight large districts to be visited during the next six months. And we intend, moreover, earnestly to pursue our object by all the ordinary means which we have constantly put into operation. Every one who attentively reads the papers must observe the zeal with which our statesmen, our Whig statesmen—the friends of civil and religious liberty [a laugh]—the men who, in theory, are opposed to an establishment, and say that, if they were obliged to form a constitution *de novo*, they could not consent to such an anomaly—are contradicting all their own declarations, and zealously pushing the system into our colonies, disturbing the peace of those who, for peace sake often times have left their mother country in order to be quiet in distant lands; sending down a bishop, under the pretence that he is to be

no expense to the inhabitants [laughter]; and then saddling four, five, or eight hundred pounds on the civil list of the colony, for his travelling expenses and suite. We observe them to be also anxious to bring about this consummation, by them "so devoutly to be wished," in our own country. We have seen something of the Established Church in Ireland. Would common sense dictate, that we should cure the evil of which the Irish people have justly complained, not by withdrawing it, but by giving them another? [hear, hear.] This, however, it seems our rulers intend, if possible, to effect. We may be asked, how we know the intentions of her Majesty's Ministers? We do not profess the power of clairvoyance. We cannot penetrate into the secrets of cabinets, but they ooze out in the indiscreet expression of subordinates. We look at the declaration of Lord John Russell, that the only bar to the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy was their own reluctance to be dependent upon the civil power, and, that that being got over, the opposition of the people of England and Scotland to the measures would not justify him in withholding the proposal. We see, in the next place, diplomatic relations established with the See of Rome. We see Lord Ellenborough declaring that the repayment of the loans, which have been made to the Irish landlords, ought to be appropriated to the purchases of glebes for the sustenance of the Roman Catholic clergy. We observe that the newspapers intimate, more or less distinctly, that this measure will be brought forward by her Majesty's Ministers. And we find, from the private testimony of members of Parliament, that it is universally expected in the clubs, and in Parliament itself, that such measures must be pressed. Well, then, is it worth our while to wait till ministers make a formal announcement of their intentions, when it will be too late for us to make a united and an efficient opposition? We do not intend to agitate against a plan, before we see it. But we can put ourselves into a state of preparation—have all our organizations completed by the opening of Parliament. If by that time, Lord John should have thought better of his project, we shall have lost nothing; if, on the contrary, he follows up that which appears to be his long-cherished design, we shall be ready to meet him [cheers]. Be it observed, the ground upon which we oppose this measure, is not the ground of dissent from the Romish Church, or disbelief of its doctrine. We may have, individually, strong convictions on that matter; but, when we are dealing with the legislature we know nothing of creeds or systems of ecclesiastical discipline [cheers]. But we contend that it is wrong to give endowments under any circumstances; and that it is impolitic—that it leads to the servility of the priest, and the enslavement of the people. On this ground we hope to meet the Government fairly, and fight them hand to hand, and see if we cannot prevent the accomplishment of their scheme; and if not, to indoctrinate the minds of the people with our principles, so as to render the introduction of the measure one of the most disastrous circumstances to Establishments which have occurred in our age [loud cheers]. Believing our principles to be in harmony with the word of God, we have therein a sufficient guarantee of their final triumph. But that triumph will, of course, not come without the diligent use of appropriate means. Men who fold their arms in reverie, and simply wish for great changes, can never expect, nor do they deserve to behold, them. Ours is a faith noble enough to repay any sacrifice—a faith reasonable enough to sustain itself under any amount of difficulty, and in spite of all the imputations which our opponents ascribe to us, our design is strictly a conservative one—conservative of whatever is good, and of whatever tends to good. We wish to see religious institutions rest upon the foundation upon which God originally placed them. We are firm believers in the essential vitality of truth. We have no misgivings as to the safety of the Church when left to its own spiritual energies and resources [cheers]. We look forward with full assurance of hope to the period when civil rulers will confine themselves within their proper sphere of action; and will leave Christianity unpolluted by their touch, unhampered by their meddling interference, free to accomplish in this world her own beneficent and glorious mission [great applause].

The Chairman concluded by calling on the

Rev. JOHN GORDON, of Coventry, to move the first resolution:—

That this meeting, having a profound conviction of the evils resulting from legislation by civil governments in matters of religion, rejoice in the evident tendency of public events, both in this country and on the continent, to hasten the downfall of State Ecclesiastical Establishments.

He said:—I presume, sir, we are met together on this occasion, not so much for the purpose of discussing the principles on which our Anti-state-church Association is built, as for strengthening and encouraging each other in the defence and application of those principles. It is at least to this latter point that I desire to direct the few observations which I may be able to offer to the present assembly. The question with which we have to do, is at once a religious and a political one. We are sometimes told, and we have lately been told with a voice of confidential authority—that to engage in these efforts for the emancipation of religion from State control, is dangerous to that personal spiritual welfare which it is the great duty of a Christian calling to cultivate. Now I cannot understand that individual Christian cultivation which is not performed under the constantly presiding influence of those great principles which Christianity is designed to establish and develop [hear, hear]. We cannot discharge our duty to Christianity, nor to ourselves, by its means, while we regard it as limited to the

direct influence it has on our personal character. For the truth by which we should regulate our personal character, is truth which, by the essential conditions of its existence, is applicable to all possible religious circumstances. I feel assured, that to strengthen our conviction on such questions as those that are presented to us by an establishment of religion—and to endeavour, as God gives us opportunity, to carry out those convictions into active exercise, must have an important and beneficial bearing upon our personal piety. There is something, I allow, bold and grand in the contemplation of religion deriving privilege and force from State patronage; and even the pomp and splendour with which Governments invest religion has something attractive in it. But all this is detrimental to the principle of godliness in a man's own heart. It is the substitution of outward authority and mechanical means for that spiritual service which can alone be acceptable in the sight of God. But the demand that the interference of Government be withdrawn from religion altogether, that every individual be left to the pursuit and application of religious truth, without temptation or compulsion from without—that religion be suffered to be, what it ought to be, the rational and legitimate expression of the Divine persuasion and obedience in the case of each religious man—this, if it has any influence at all, must have a beneficial influence on the cultivation of personal religion, on the part of him who makes the demand. How can we meditate upon the excellence of this voluntaryism, which we desire to identify exclusively with the religious action incumbent upon us—and how can we exert ourselves in removing the barriers which lie in the way of its free and full play, and not desire ourselves to become partakers of its excellence? not feel anxious to manifest in our individual life and conversation the superiority which we attach to its principle? Therefore, if I were to exhort to the cultivation of personal piety, instead of saying that in order to its cultivation, such endeavours as these in which we are now engaged should be abstained from, I would say, that there is a necessity laid upon us to engage in such efforts, on account of the purifying, strengthening, and enlarging influence which they must have upon our general conception of that great Christian system which we must bring to bear upon our conduct. Christianity is no selfish thing—it is the very opposite of all that is selfish. It is a vital impulse toward the destruction of every evil and the promotion of every good. Nor can we fully carry it into any circle to which we may apply it, unless we endeavour to carry it out in every circle in which it is applicable. It can only exert its full force upon our character and conduct, when we seek in every sphere of responsibility in which we are placed, to act it out. But, then, it is said, such advice as this tends to strife; and strife is injurious to that personal peace, in connexion with which individual religion most happily flourishes. Now, setting aside that the wisdom which is from above is first pure, then peaceable [hear, hear], and that peace is worthless except it be based on purity [cheers]—setting that aside, no man can have peace, in any sense in which peace relates to the personal satisfaction of the mind and heart, unless he discharges every duty that lies to his hand, in spite of all outward difficulties that may oppose its discharge. Contention for the truth is the true condition of inward peace. Without it, a man's heart must be torn by guilty self-upbraiding; and with it the greatest satisfaction which such a man has, stands connected with the strife in which he engages. Strife in a wrong cause, in a bad spirit, on an unfitting occasion, is an evil, and a very great evil. But strife which has in view the abolition of wrong—strife which is performed under the influence of truth and love—strife which selects its opportunities in consistency with a sense of religious responsibility—strife which is necessitated by the tyranny and oppression of those against whom it is directed—strife which contemplates the welfare of all with whom it has to do, which consults the benefits even of those whom it endeavours to defeat, conquering that it may save—strife which keeps steadily in sight the time when the cause of strife shall be no more—that is not an evil but a good [great cheering]; it is a noble and glorious calling, for which confessors and martyrs are regarded as more illustrious than the common body of the saints, a calling in which whosoever engages, will find a sufficient reward in the peace, the individual satisfaction, which he will find in his own heart, and in connexion with which he has confidence towards God. Christianity is itself such a strife, and he who does not conduct it to its triumph, in spite of all opposition, can never in his cowardly heart be partaker of its peace [cheers]. But ours is a political, as well as a religious question, and a question the political importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Nothing can be plainer than that a religious establishment, as it is called, is directly opposed to that perfect equality of treatment which ought to prevail among all the subjects of a realm. Nor can any form in which a religious establishment may exist, be free from this injustice. From this state of civil affairs a whole brood of evils necessarily proceed. The favoured class naturally endeavours to defend every civil wrong which is consistent with their religious monopoly, and their clergy become a kind of sacred police [loud and prolonged cheering], employed in putting down all resistance to things as they are. And religion itself—which by the very necessity of its existence is in favour of popular rights; which, in every legitimate application of it, adds its incalculable weight to every demand of justice and mercy which man can make on his fellow-man; religion itself is perverted into an instrument of civil exclusion, which is entirely alien from its spirit. As I believe that many of the political evils under which we

groan are to be traced to the position which is occupied by the Church of England; as I believe that its position gives a false sanctity to measures which but for it would be regarded as simply and shamefully oppressive; so I believe, on the other hand, that our struggles for civil liberty will derive strength and depth from our cultivation of the desire, and our formation of the resolve, to have that religious liberty which is our due [cheers]. I don't degrade spiritual matters by bringing them down to worldly level by so acting; but I lift up the cause of civil liberty to the divine elevation—for it, too, is the cause of God [much cheering]—which it ought to possess. For myself, I have no expectation that Anti-state-church efforts will succeed, except in connexion with the success of popular representation [loud cheers]. Its interests, and our ecclesiastical interests are one; and I think the latter can only be secured by means of the former [great cheering]. I have but little faith in the House of Commons as at present constituted; and in the Whig government I have a great deal less faith [increased and repeated applause]. It is in every way a dishonoured government [continued applause]. It has broken its promises—it has eaten its most solemn words—and it has proved that the free and generous sentiments which its members were accustomed to utter, were no true thing, but a pitiful hypocrisy, which was assumed for the basest purposes of party ambition [renewed applause]. I know well that when the people get their own share in the administration of the affairs of this kingdom, all these religious establishments will vanish like the morning mist before the breath of day. The resolution speaks of the tendency of public events as matter of rejoicing. Now those are really the most encouraging tendencies which seem most adverse. If I may be allowed an Irishism, I rejoice most in what I dread most. Referring to the Roman Catholic Endowment scheme, Mr. Gordon said, It is the endowment of acknowledged error. The Government do not profess any faith in, or sympathize with, Roman Catholicism. The *Examiner* has commended it to the approval of Dissenters as a dead weight upon a religious system which they hold to be erroneous. And it is also an endowment in order to uphold a positive religious opposition. The English Church was established in Ireland for the very purpose of converting the people to Protestantism; and now it is proposed to endow the opposite system, thereby maintaining a religious antagonism. The real object for which this scheme is introduced is, however, to put down political contention in Ireland. That contention, mischievous as it may be, has its natural causes. It did not drop down from the sky, or spring out of the ground. It arises from the unparalleled civil and social wrongs of Ireland [great applause]; and the Established Church is among the worst of those wrongs [renewed and increased applause]—and the bulwark of the rest. That Church should be disfranchised, and those wrongs remedied, in order that political contention may be fairly put down. It is indeed hoped that religion will perish under this State endowment—becoming more acceptable to the formalist, who desires only a religious show; and the infidel, who is altogether indifferent to the matter. It is in no spirit of despair or doubt, but in a hopeful and joyful spirit, that I regard the prospect before us. We see the presages of triumph in everything around us—in the difficulties by which our opponents are fettered, and in the concessions they make, in their efforts at reformation, as well as in the opposition they offer. We see it in the progress of intelligence, as well as in the increasingly imperative demand for the concession of civil rights. We see it in the scientific and social, as well as in religious, changes. Above all, we see it in that "sure word of prophecy," which shineth for us as a light in a dark place. The day dawns; the day star has risen not only in our hearts, but in the world around us. The time which we anticipate will come, and is coming, when kings shall be the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers, of the Church; not in the sense in which the kingdom of heaven shall be turned into the kingdom of this world; but in that other and opposite Christian sense, in which "the kingdom of this world shall become the kingdom of our God and of his Christ." (Mr. G. resumed his seat amidst loud and reiterated applause.)

Rev. Dr. MASSIE, in seconding the resolution, said, the gentleman who has preceded me has left a little upon which I can say a few words in relation to the Continent of Europe. My words shall be few; not that I would decline to publish my sentiments upon religious establishments, for I believe that as long as they have been established they have been prejudicial in their operation towards other bodies. I hold in the highest esteem individual members of those establishments, and I here do not enter upon personal conflict with them. We have to look at the Continent and the tendency of the present day upon the Continent. I had the pleasure of attending the organization of this Association at its first meeting. Speedily after that it was my duty to visit the Continent; and I carried with me the first publication of the Association, and introduced it to some of the leading spirits there. It, therefore, has been a matter of interest to me to trace the movement of individuals in these various localities, and the principles which have emanated from those schools with which those men were connected. The operation of these principles has been seen in Geneva, at Berlin, and Heidelberg. But I could not help, in reflecting upon the subject, casting my mind towards Rome, though I never cast my foot there. I saw in the early history of the Christian church, a church founded at Rome, its principles developed under inspired authority, and presented in all the purity of the earliest ages of Christianity, and I find in those principles the most direct anti-

gonism to the system which has since been established there—the system which has been maintained by State endowments; and not only so, but as far as the State power was employed, and the establishment principle developed, so far was the truth in its original purity clouded, and the first principles of the Christian church rubbed out, given to the winds. I must, therefore, hail the overthrow of the establishment principle at Rome, because I wish to see the religion of Christ, as first promulgated by the apostles there, and to see them enjoy the liberty which belongs to the religion of Christ [cheers]. I look to Germany, and I find that when the reformation introduced by Luther, and which contained the fundamental doctrines of evangelical truth, came into power, it was dignified and endowed, and enabled to rough ride the community; and the consequence has been, that in Germany, Christianity has become directly antagonistic to what the reformers wished it to be. It has been the establishment principle which has brought this to pass. It has made religion subservient to the wishes of statesmen, and made the people and priests the tools and instruments of oppression. I see, then, in the tendency of the overthrow of religious establishments in Germany, something which is encouraging, which leads me to believe that religious truth will again be in the ascendency, and prevail throughout her plains. I look throughout Germany. Not many years since, the last King of Prussia took it into his royal head to unite the various churches in his dominions. The consequence was, that one class felt itself aggrieved, that another class, was placed in the ascendant; and the former had the dragoons billeted upon them, their property confiscated, and often their persons imprisoned, so that many forsook their homes and crossed the Atlantic, to find in America the peace and freedom they could not enjoy in their native land. The King convened a Synod, and proposed that the rationalistic doctors should be excluded, and in fact, to form a perfect model of a State church according to his royal conceptions. He was doubtless sincere and well-intentioned; but the result of his efforts had been to foster latitudinarianism and infidelity. Dr. M. then referred to Geneva, and the mischief resulting from ecclesiastical domination there. The leading minds of Germany were looking to the Association, from whom they had, to a great extent, received their first enlightenment, for continued example. Europe was awaking to desire the power and purity of religious truth, and the liberty which it alone could confer (cheers).

As the Chairman was about to put the resolution, Mr. RICHARD TAYLOR, of the Common Council, concurring with much that had been said, doubted the sufficiency of the voluntary principle alone. He admitted the corruption of all State Churches, but could not consent to their entire abolition. Assistance from the State for religious purposes might not be needed by, might even be injurious as well as distasteful to, the religious part of the community; but if there were no parochial ministrations, what would become of the lamentably large class of persons who had neither religious instruction nor religious feeling? What was to become of the ecclesiastical property—the parish churches, for instance? Were they to be pulled down? [No, no, and laughter.] He was surprised at the phrase—"the endowment of acknowledged error." Who would be so presumptuous as to say, what was truth and what error? He had never felt any conscientious scruple as to contributing to the religious wants of other sects.

Mr. GORDON explained that he had not presumed to say for others what was truth and what error; but had simply pointed out the inconsistency of men endowing what they acknowledged to be error. He denied to a Government the possession of that power of moral judgment according to which a conscientious man might contribute to the support of different sects. The resolution was then carried *nem. con.*

The Rev. J. BURNET moved the next resolution—That it appearing to be highly probable that a measure for the endowment of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland will shortly be submitted to Parliament, this meeting unhesitatingly declare their determination to offer to any such proposal their most earnest and uncompromising opposition. That they regard such a project as an attempt to perpetuate the existence of the present, by the creation of a new Ecclesiastical Establishment in Ireland, and as an important step towards the adoption of the pernicious principle of paying the teachers of all religious creeds, however diverse and conflicting. That such a measure, so far from having been demanded by the Irish people, will, in all probability, be viewed by them with well-merited suspicion. That it will do nothing to ameliorate their social wretchedness, or to shield them from the oppression of which they justly complain, and will fail even permanently to conciliate even popular good will. That in place of doing "justice to Ireland," it would throw a veil over glaring wrongs, and instead of promoting the well-being of the whole people, would prolong the ascendancy of a narrow section, to whose neglect of duty the present miseries of Ireland may be mainly traced.

Referring to Ireland he said, this country ranks among its evils an Established Church. Our worthy friend is apprehensive, that if State Establishments were abolished, great evils would ensue. But if the State has a right to give aid to one portion of its subjects, it should give it to all, and support every variety of opinion; and could statesmen of honesty and integrity do that? Is the statesman who has sworn that one religion is blasphemous in his belief, and another true, to turn round and give the public aid to both? It is impossible to help one religion without doing injustice to all; and equally impossible to support all with any character for consistency. Then, what are we to do? Why just bid our statesmen tell all religionists, that all who profess to believe that religion comes from heaven, and carries Divine power with it, should show it by supporting themselves. To tell me, in the words of Scripture, they are "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might," and then go trembling to the State, crying, "Help, or we perish!"—that you believe

your religion is founded upon a rock, and the gates of hell will never prevail against it, and then come to me and say, "If you don't take care, they will pull down all our churches!" [laughter and cheers]—tell me that New Testament Christianity has no carnal weapons, but is mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds; and then tell me it cannot uphold its own institutions! A great cry has been raised against the Whigs, and their dereliction of principle. But, we must look at the time when Whiggery first came into being. They date from 1688, and their first object was, to induce the Church to lay a lighter hand upon the Dissenters—to give the Church power to strike, but to strike lightly—to take the people's money, but to take it gently—to take care of the Church by making her more tolerant and liberal. But the nation has got a-head of toleration [laughter], and now demands that the Church have power neither to strike nor take. But the Whigs cling to their boasted 1688, and forget that we live in a more advanced age. They suppressed ten Irish bishops, but gave their incomes, not to the people, but to the Church, and they have the same object in this last scheme, of which the resolution speaks—it is all for the Church and nothing for the people. It is not the kind of thing that Ireland needs. Let us not suppose that an endowment will improve her. You must dig into her mines, drain her bogs, cut her turf, till her land, deepen and direct her rivers, employ her people—tell her landlords, who have a rent-roll of ten thousand a year, and are not worth three hundred, they must sell out and make way for those who can improve their estates [cheers]. You must give to the people a "fair day's wages for a fair day's work,"—say to them, Take advantage of this fertility you so boast of and admire, develop these resources of your island, and you will have wealth enough. By these means you will teach them to support themselves, and be proud of doing it. By endowments, you break the spirit which you ought to encourage, and will make them despise and distrust the spiritual teachers whom otherwise they would be able and glad to maintain. I must not omit to mention one thing—many men raise a cry of "No endowment of Popery!" I don't understand that cry. Ours is not a "No Popery" but a "No payment" cry. When I meet a Catholic clergyman upon a platform, to discuss our respective faiths, I adopt the cry of "No Popery!" I object to the union of religion with the State, under any circumstances. But we protest against the money of the people being taken to forge into golden fetters for the religion we hold dearer than anything on earth. If any man take my money for his own use, it is a misapplication; but in this case it is misappropriation, to make manacles for truth and liberty. Nor will the Irish thank England for the endowment. When Paddy finds that it has not added a potato to his store, nor drained an acre of marsh, nor given him an hour's work, but robbed him of the confidence and affection of his priest, he will fling it in our face, as another insult and injury. This nineteenth century needs men who are not wedded to the seventeenth, but who perceive the wants and tendencies of the present age—men who will liberate religion in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland, that it may go forth in its power and beauty to exert its wisely directing and hallowing influence upon the people [applause].

Rev. ANDREW REED, of Norwich, commenced by observing that he should like Mr. Taylor, who had expressed his fear of the consequences of withdrawing all State aid from religion, to accompany him to Norfolk and other rural districts, where he would see the neglected state of the people under the present ecclesiastical system; and into Wales, where the Church had so long had it all her own way. He thought that he would return from such a tour without his present misgivings as to the abandonment of the endowment principle. With regard to the subject referred to in the resolution, he would say, never allow danger to approach near or gather strength. While hostile designs are not yet compacted into definite purposes, and the designers themselves are not yet fully committed to them, is the time to meet them with a determined front. He then said: It seems as if two contagious pestilences were at this time hovering over our country—the one physical, the other political. I hope the report may not be true of the former—but the Government and the medical profession are on the alert. There is another pestilence—the vile blast of mingled kingship and priesthood—that centralized despotism, which considers man as the tool of the statesman—the individual as the instrument of society, instead of society as the convenience of the individual. Mark its advances—take it in time—put it in quarantine [laughter and cheers]. There are several grounds on which this scheme may be opposed. There is, for instance, the financial objection. Why are not the proposed funds to be applied to the relief of a nation groaning under a burden of taxation amounting to nearly sixty millions per annum, whose Poor-rates support a tenth part of the population—a nation with an Income-tax in time of peace, which has just added two millions to its funded debt, and spent ten millions almost in vain to benefit Ireland. The advocates of retrenchment should demand, for the people, that every sort of religion be left to support itself, and that ecclesiastical burdens no longer hang like a millstone on the neck of the nation's industry. There is one objection, that is based on the unscripturalness of Popery. Though personally convinced of the great evils of that religion, I nevertheless feel it right at present to waive it,—waive it until the Romish priest stands before me, claiming the public money. We, at least, have never joined in the No-Popery cry, or in the bigoted ravings of the Protestant Association, to debar our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects of those rights which every

citizen should enjoy. The only ground of resistance we can take, is that of our insuperable objection to all form of the Establishment principle, from a regular hierarchy to the paltry *Regium Donum*. When advised to direct our opposition to the corruptions, rather than to the principle of an Establishment, we reply, that we prefer the latter ground, as at once more consistent, radical, and popular; the only one that is really safe; the only one that will gain the heart of the great body of the people. We cannot unite, on this particular question, with those who think the reformation of the Church should be attempted, and can be accomplished, without severing it from the State. We believe that Popery is but one branch, or form, of the evil that arises from the alliance of religion with earthly power, and therefore cannot unite with those who oppose a Roman Catholic Establishment in Ireland, while they uphold a Protestant one in England. It is better that no such coalition should be attempted. We shall then be at liberty to give more distinct utterance to our protest, and the principle on which it is based, while they are more likely to perceive the inconsistency of their position. May I say one word upon the spirit in which our position should be maintained. The tone of our argument, to be successful, should be as persuasive as our stand is decided. In a cause like this we should not go about with a stern front and bitter words, denouncing timid friends as fiercely as open foes. The man who would be successful must go with bland air, and kindly smile, and cheerful aspect, that the truth may slide, as it were, from his heart into the hearts of others, they scarce know how. Let me say a word or two as to the parties to help us in this struggle. I fear we shall be compelled to go into it almost alone [No, no]. Well, we shall see; I hope not. But what if Government should propose three endowments—one to the Irish Catholics, another to the Scotch Free Church, and a third to the Wesleyans? I should tremble, not for the ultimate consequences, but for the immediate effects. As to the last-named body, I speak openly and fearlessly [loud cheers]. Do we not see that they who declared they would not retain the Government money if assistance was granted to schools in which the Bible was not read, still keep the money, though that assistance has been given? Can we, then, depend on their going with us? As to the English Churchmen, they look upon the Church in Ireland as necessary to the maintenance of the Church here. The destruction of the Irish Church would be quickly followed by that of their own. We shall rejoice if, in the day of battle, the power of truth shall bring these parties to our side. At any rate, this very discussion, rightly managed, may do much, by the blessing of Heaven, to produce a consummation so devoutly to be wished. Establishments are felt to be failing; and, therefore, they are sought to be shored up with new endowments. Let us then batter away at their weakened walls, in the assurance that, in due time, they will give way, and a glorious edifice rise on the ruins. Be assured, if those who would support them succeed in erecting new defences, it will render the old building so unseemly, that every man of good taste will wish to get rid of it altogether [loud cheers].

HENRY CHILD, Esq., moved, and EBENEZER CLARKE seconded, the last resolution, appending to it a vote of thanks to the Chair:—

That this meeting, avowing its cordial approbation of the constitution and operations of the British Anti-state-church Association, and regarding the circumstances already mentioned as a strong incentive to increased exertions for the advancement of its fundamental principles, earnestly desire that it may receive such a measure of public support as will, under the Divine blessing, enable it to prosecute its work to an early and successful conclusion.

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the vote of thanks, and the meeting separated about ten o'clock.

#### ENDOWMENT OF THE IRISH CATHOLIC CLERGY.

SEMI-OFFICIAL STATEMENT.—The *Dublin Evening Post*, which is regarded as the official organ of the Irish Government, writes in the following significant language on this subject, in reply to an invitation to discuss it:—

In the first place then, and without any reservation whatever, we repeat the doctrine which we always proclaimed, when the avowal was necessary—that either the Catholic clergy of Ireland should receive a provision from the State, or that there should be no *Regium Donum*—and no payment, however called, to the Established Church.

Not being Voluntaries, however—not being of opinion that a Christian clergy should trust for subsistence to the capriciousness of voluntary contributors, to the likings or dislikings of a mob—whether habited in broad-cloth or in frieze—whether her Episcopalian or Presbyterian, or Popish—we would relieve them from the slavery and curse of dependence upon the British Orator, or the grudging alms of proud Protestants, or the hard-fisted Presbyterians, or Catholic bear-leaders. We would have clergymen independent, because we wish them to be respectable—indeed we mean for a mere livelihood on their flocks or congregations. For example, we do not know any state more to be deprecated—any condition more pitiable, than that to which a great number—much more than is supposed—of the Catholic priesthood of Ireland are reduced at this moment. We are well aware that in many cases their *dues* have been made contingent on their popularity as politicians—and we do know that many of them have suffered the most humiliating privations because they would not swim with the stream. At present their state in several of the counties is absolutely deplorable—nay, a scandal to a Christian country.

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With regard to the Catholic clergy—though, of course, they are not called upon to declare their opinion—see

are satisfied we shall have every thoughtful man amongst them with us.

It is not from this quarter, whatever the scribblers may say, that any real opposition to the measure, should it be seriously entertained, need be apprehended. We may hear some vapid declamation, and some namby pamby nonsense from some of the clergy in towns, who are snug and comfortable; but these tirades will be regarded by the country clergy with contempt, if not with indignation. It is not, we say, from such quarters that we have anything serious to apprehend in the way of resistance. *Neither is it from the practical Presbyterians of Ireland*, more than with the Protestants thereof. Nay, we will venture to affirm that the majority of the Episcopalian Protestant clergymen of Ireland—those excepted under the sway of the fanatic, bigoted, or concealed bishops—will not be found amongst the *earnest* enemies of the measure. But we believe, though very much tamed, the Exeter-hall spirit is still very potent in parts of England; and we are pretty sure that the Free Church of Scotland, from her thousand tongues, will ring a peal of curses on the head of the Minister who dare propose, and of the Parliament that should have the *audacity* (this is a famous word for your Slang-whanglers, when they essay strong language), to entertain the proposition. Even the ire of these personages might be disregarded; but, then—the state of the finances—

THE SECULAR AND REGULAR CLERGY.—A newspaper correspondent in Ireland, who is in favour of the endowment of the priests, yet sees the gravity of this difficulty, writes:—“Even now there are those who tell us that mendicant orders are spreading into the districts where the popularity of the priests was weakened by their conduct in the late insurrection; and I need not tell you that the regular orders are far more unsafe possessors of political power than the secular clergy.”

THE SCOTCH DISSENTERS.—Dissent, if not victorious in this contest, will if possible be crushed. Let Popery once be endowed, side by side with Protestantism, and all that statecraft and priestcraft can devise will be brought to bear on the extermination of every denomination that disowns or opposes the modern system of conciliatory rule. A Voluntary will then be regarded as an enemy, not merely of the Church, but of the State. Anti-state-church Associations will be put down, while, under the pretext of unwonted liberalism, a spirit of persecution and of tyranny will spring up, for which parallels must be sought in the reigns of the Stuarts and the proceedings of the Star Chamber. Glad are we, therefore, to note the beginnings of vigorous and hopeful action exhibited by the Scottish Anti-state-church Association. Special practical instructions, we trust, will be given to the deputies who may be sent to visit the country. Let anti-endowment societies be formed or revived in every place they visit, and let an organization be created that may be wrought by the central association with ease and effect. Electors too should be roused to a sense of their responsibilities. Many members of Parliament, like our own Mr. Gibson Craig, are anxious to keep their opinions in their pockets, until the Prime Minister requires them. But the constituencies have the first right to know what their representatives think and purpose. Now, that so fine an opportunity is afforded by the recess, let the constituencies everywhere communicate with their representatives. If they fail to do so, will not Lord John Russell be entitled to conclude—either that they are indifferent to the erection of another, and that a Popish establishment, or that they are actually in favour of the same? Scotchmen will be unworthy of their name and ancestry, if they stamp not with speedy and indignant reprobation the proposal which the Premier has not merely announced as desirable, but which he has had the temerity to intimate that he will, if possible, thrust even upon a protesting people.—*Scottish Press*.

THE IRISH PRESBYTERIANS AND CATHOLIC ENDOWMENT.—The following appeared in the *Patriot* of Monday week. As no notice has been taken of the statement by the organ of the Irish Presbyterians, we presume it is not far from the truth:—

It was reported in Ireland some months ago (and the report met with much credence among persons who ought to be well informed), that the Government had come to an understanding with the leaders of the Presbyterians on the subject of the endowment of Popery, and that the Assembly, and the laity of its communion, were to be kept quiet. It was stated, that the price of their silence was to be an increase of the *Regium Donum* from £75 to £100 per annum to every minister of the body; and a change of its form from that of an annual grant to that of a charge on the Consolidated Fund. For the truth of this report we cannot vouch; but the quiescence of the *Banner of Ulster* is ominous. Another circumstance, too, is not less significant. There was a great deal of talk, publicly and avowedly, in the last Assembly (in July), of the unpleasant and dependent position in which the body is placed by having an annual grant; and of the extreme desirableness of getting the *Regium Donum* placed on the Consolidated Fund.

THE FREE CHURCH.—We rejoice (says the *Scottish Guardian*) that the organs of the Dissenters are beginning actively to bestir themselves in making preparation for the coming contest; and we fondly trust that no petty jealousies, arising from the varied

grounds on which different classes of these may rest their opposition, will interfere with the cordiality or energy of their action.

MR. W. GIBSON CRAIG, M.P. for Edinburgh, has replied as follows to a letter written by the Rev. James Robertson, one of his constituents:—“As I am not aware that the Government intend introducing any measure for the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, it does not appear to me that it is necessary, or that I ought to be required, now to answer hypothetical questions upon a measure which may never be proposed. If such a proposition were made, I shall be ready to give my constituents every information as to the course I should pursue upon it; but I cannot think it is of any use to enter into a speculative discussion upon such a subject at present.”

#### THE FREE CHURCH AND ENDOWMENTS.

At the meeting of the Edinburgh Presbytery of the Free Church, on Wednesday last, Mr. M. STUART brought forward the following motion:—

That on account of the prevalence and growth, in influential quarters, of opinions favourable to the indiscriminate endowment of all forms of religion, whether true or false, this Presbytery deem it reasonable to record it as their judgment, that while to support and countenance damnable heresy, together with Christ's holy gospel,—such as the Romish apostasy along with Protestant truth,—is manifest and heinous sin on the part of a government,—so also the acceptance by the Church of endowment for her ministers, granted on such principles, has no warrant in the Word of God, in the Standards of this Church, or in her past history as the Church of Scotland.

He said that such would be the opposition given by most religious bodies to the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, that the Government would likely make it indiscriminate in order to carry their point and silence the other sects. In the course of a few months they would have that subject not theoretically but practically before them, and the question for them to decide would be, whether they (the Free Church) would accept an endowment or not. Some would think it proper to accept it; others would prophesy another disruption as the consequence. It was not likely that the question of endowment would remain as it was now, and he believed if the Irish Catholics were endowed, indiscriminate endowment of all religious sects would be the consequence. He believed the Government and the public had an idea that their opposition to Popery was of that character that they would not sacrifice an endowment to themselves in their opposition to the endowment of Popery; hence a strong reason for his motion. Another reason was, that they appeared as a Church to be fast drifting away from their principles, and from their most solemn declarations; he referred specially to the declaration made by the Assembly in regard to the education grant. It was in the Assembly of 1847 stated by some of the leading men of the Church that if the educational grant then under consideration had been an ecclesiastical endowment it would have been impossible for them to have accepted it. Dr. Candlish said, and the remark was received with great applause, that if it had been a matter of Church endowment he would refuse it, while he had afterwards said in speaking of Church endowment that to that subject he would not commit himself. He (Mr. Stuart) hoped the Church would commit itself to the non-acceptance of a ministerial endowment, and if so, he cared not on what principle. Mr. Stuart then contended that there was no warrant in Scripture for the indiscriminate endowment of religion, and affirmed that the Government, if they endowed the Roman Catholic religion, would be guilty of an act of apostasy, and be one of many proofs that they were an apostatizing Government. The Church of God was a free kingdom; but if she was so allied, she could not be free in any sense of the word. The Rev. Gentleman concluded by saying that the acceptance of indiscriminate endowment was inconsistent with their obedience to the Word of God, which commanded them to preach the gospel to all. He hoped endowment would not be offered; but still he thought, seeing the current of events was carrying them onward so rapidly, that it was improper to go forward without having their opinion prepared, and he thought that if discussed in due time, it would save divisions and differences which would otherwise arise.

DR. CANDLISH moved the previous question, and, in doing so, disclaimed the interpretation Mr. Stuart had put upon the arguments used by him (Dr. Candlish) on former occasions. On all grounds, he thought it inexpedient to discuss the question introduced by Mr. Stuart. He did not find that the Church had ever been in the habit of discussing abstract questions of casuistry. It had never done so unless it was in that most melancholy period of her history, on which they looked back with extreme regret, when the controversy between resolutionists and protesters took place. They held principles, understood them, and could apply them, but they had no promise of guidance in applying these to contingent questions. He knew misconstruction might be put on his words, and he might be charged with hankering after endowment, but he was ready to waive all that, and peril his character and that of the Church on what she had done, not on what she would do, in ambiguous cases. As to the matter personal to himself, he had no hesitation in repeating what he had said, for he would not commit himself as to the abstract lawfulness of endowment. He believed they were on the eve of a struggle—a real struggle, which would task their practical energies to the utmost—he alluded to their resistance to the Government proposal, and that of the leading statesmen of the land, in favour of the endowment of the Irish Priesthood. With this gigantic controversy, and most vital struggle before them—with the question whether this great

country was in a wholesale and irrevocable way to become the patron and paymaster of the Man of Sin—with that question to be decided, which would require all their energies in the struggle, he would deprecate and deplore that they should be embarrassed among themselves by raising up any nice question of casuistry or subtlety. For that question he would call on the Presbytery carefully to reserve itself, as he would call their attention to it at the next meeting.

Dr. GORDON seconded the motion.

Dr. BEGG: Although practically at one with Mr. Stuart, he was not at one with him as to the grounds on which he would resist an endowment. He was not of opinion that the mere circumstance of indiscriminate endowment was sufficient ground for rejecting it in all cases. He was not prepared to affirm that general principle; but it occurred to him that their duty at present was to resist, as Dr. Candlish had so justly said, the impending evil they saw before them, viz., the proposal to endow Papacy. He held that they were not bound to discuss abstract questions of casuistry, or to give a public refusal of what was not offered them [hear]. He exceedingly deprecated the way in which Mr. Stuart spoke; and also the way in which he shook his head in regard to the brethren [a laugh]. He stated that in the year 1847 they would not have accepted an endowment, but when he referred to their present state of feeling he shook his head. Now, he did not think there was any ground for that. He (Dr. Begg) believed the brethren were just as steadfast in their mind now as they were in 1847; and he deprecated exceedingly that mode of speaking—[a laugh]—and that mode of silence, as being eminently unjust, and fitted to damage the credit and character of the worthy ministers of the Church with those who did not know them.

Mr. MACKENZIE, of North Leith, expressed his high admiration and his entire approbation of the address of Dr. Candlish; but at the same time he could not help saying that he also sympathized with some things that fell from Mr. Stuart [cries of "So do we all"]. He particularly sympathized with the remark, that they ought to study most carefully beforehand questions that might practically come up for their decision. While they ought not to bring those before the world, or prematurely commit themselves upon them by any expression of their sentiments, he thought Mr. Stuart was quite right in thinking they should most powerfully, and most earnestly, study them [hear, hear]. For it appeared to him that, in the providence of God, which was the great interpreter of God's Word, as this Word was also the interpreter of Providence, a new light was breaking in upon quarters which perplexed their fathers, and whose decision on which might require to be modified by this additional light. Among these questions he would at once state that he referred to the connexion between Church and State.

Mr. TWEEDIE said, that while he thought that Dr. Candlish had shown some very strong reasons why they had no call to discuss this subject at present, he at the same time regretted Mr. Stuart's insuluation, convinced as he was that they were perfectly at one in principle for all practical purposes. He regretted that Mr. Stuart had not brought forward his views at a private conference of the brethren; for he believed that had he done so, Mr. Stuart would have found that, instead of having to shake his head, he would have discovered that they were all standing side by side.

Mr. Stuart having found no supporter, the previous question was carried.

#### HOW CLERGYMEN MAY ESCAPE FROM THE BISHOP.

The following letter, published in the *Daily News*, appears to confirm the view we recently took of Mr. Shore's case:—

SIR—I read with much interest in your paper of Saturday, 16th instant, your remarks as to the slavish bondage of the clergy in matters of belief, grounded on the opinion of the learned civilian, Sir John Dodson; but I am willing to think that, with a view from time to time gradually to grant relief to tender consciences, and permit the exercise of honest reason, the Legislature has provided a retreat, to which Sir John Dodson has not alluded, for any clergyman or priest who has seceded, or desires to secede, from the Church of England, and provided him a mode by which, if he pleases, he may preach as a Dissenting minister. There are many instances on record where clergymen of the Church of England have, from conscientious scruples, given up their preferment in the Church, and become the ministers of numerous and important congregations of Dissenters. Lawyers are too much in the habit of giving opinions drily upon the cases submitted to them for consideration, and limit their replies to queries asked in such a way as often to mislead the public, who take it for granted, that a man of learning and erudition would contemplate all circumstances connected with a case, and by his reply endeavour to enlighten the public mind where the matter submitted is connected with public liberty and freedom of conscience. No one acquainted with the subject, as a question of ecclesiastical authority, will probably combat the decision of Sir John Dodson, and at all regret that, according to ecclesiastical law, the clergy should be placed in so humiliating a position; but I respectfully submit, that some of this scourge might have been softened if the learned Queen's Advocate had made to his reply, No. 1, the following addition; namely, "unless such priest took care to bring himself within cap. 44 of 19 George III., the first section of which enacts that every person dissenting from the Church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, being a preacher or teacher of any congregation of Dissenting Protestants, who shall take the oaths and make and subscribe the declaration against Popery required by the 1st William and Mary, c. 18, to be taken, made, and subscribed by Protestant Dissenting ministers, and shall

also make and subscribe the declaration in the words following, viz., 'I, A. B., do solemnly declare in the presence of Almighty God that I am a Christian and a Protestant, and as such that I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as commonly received among Protestant churches do contain the revealed will of God, and that I do receive the same as the rule of my doctrine and practice,' shall be entitled to all the benefits of the said act of 1 William and Mary, cap. 18, commonly called the Toleration Act, and of 10 Anne, cap. 2, which latter enacts at sec. 9, that 'any preacher or teacher of any congregation of Dissenting Protestants duly qualified according to the act 1 William and Mary, shall be allowed to officiate in any congregation, although the same be not in the county where he was so qualified.' To obtain this privilege of preaching according to his conscience, the clergyman has only to attend at the quarter sessions, pay the clerk of the peace 6d. for administering the declaration and 6d. for a certificate thereof. Also I respectfully submit that the learned Queen's Advocate might have added to his reply No. 2, as follows; namely, "But by 52 George III. cap. 155, sec. 4, it is enacted, 'That every person who shall teach or preach at, or officiate in, or shall resort to, any congregation or assembly for religious worship of Protestants whose place of meeting shall be duly certified according to the provisions of this act, or any other act or acts relating to the certifying and registering of places of religious worship, shall be exempt from all such pains and penalties under any act or acts relating to religious worship, as any person who shall have taken the oaths and made the declaration prescribed by or mentioned in statute 1 Wm. and Mary, or any act amending the said act, is by law exempt.'" All such persons are liable when required to make the declaration and take the oaths prescribed. I dare say no inquiry was made from Sir John Dodson as to any mode existing by which the Rev. John Shore might lawfully exercise the duty of a Dissenting minister, or we might possibly have been told that the sixth article of the Church of England, which states "That Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein or may be proved thereby is not to be required of any man," &c., seems to permit free discussion within the walls of the Church; and when any conscientious man is satisfied by discussions that he wishes to withdraw from its communion, the Toleration Act provides him a safe retreat, with power to promulgate such religious doctrines as he considers most correctly tending to the glory of God and the happiness of man.—A PROTESTANT DISSENTER, AND A DAILY READER OF YOUR PAPER.—Birmingham, Sept. 18, 1848.

THE ROCHDALE CHURCH-RATE CONTEST.—It will be seen from the report in to-day's paper, that the inhabitants of Rochdale are again at open war with the Church. The vicar and his wardens threaten to collect a rate, in, i.e. of the known majority against it, and regardless of the strong feelings of disgust which the mass of the people have so often manifested at such a proceeding. For eight years the parish has been free from the discord and dissension arising out of church-rate exactions. In 1840, two struggles occurred upon this question, which will not easily be forgotten by those who witnessed them—struggles, unequalled, perhaps, for the zeal they aroused, and for the numbers who registered at the poll their refusal to pay for a religion which was not their own. In the first of these contests, the Church was beaten. In the second it manœuvred in favour of its friends, by extending the time of polling, contrary to public announcement, and claimed the victory by a few votes. But the result was so irregularly obtained, that the wardens lacked courage to collect the rate, and the spirit of resistance among the people being proportionately great, the vicar had to content himself with the honour of a triumph, and to forego its rewards. The meeting, which took place in the parish church, on Thursday last, will show how groundless the anticipations were, that no further attempt would be made to enforce a church-rate. St. Chad's must be kept in repair, and all its necessities must be supplied, whatever may be the wealth of the vicarage, whose riches are daily increasing, or the scruples of Dissenters, added to the claims which their own chapels have upon them. To the motion of the wardens, that one halfpenny in the pound be imposed, an amendment was moved adjourning the meeting *sine die*, which, taking advantage of Lord Denman's decision in the Braintree case, the vicar refused to put to the meeting. It was then moved that the rate be only one farthing in the pound, with a view of coming out with as little cost as possible. The people, however, were determined not to impose a rate upon themselves, and the wardens were on the point of carrying it their own way, when Mr. Livesey called for a show of hands from those who preferred a farthing to a halfpenny rate, but who were resolved to pay nothing at all. Upon this, a forest of hands was held up, the amendment was declared to be carried, and the meeting separated, determined to stand to its pledge.—*Manchester Examiner.*

ECCLÉSIASTICAL CONFUSION IN THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.—Our readers must not be surprised if they should hear that a pretty hash has been made of spiritual matters in the Royal Household; if they should learn that Dr. Candlish has preached the Free Church crusade within the Chapel Royal, and that Dr. Wiseman has followed him with a homily on the "Beauties and Virtues of Mary Queen of Heaven." The recent appointment of Lord Breda-bane in the room of Earl Spencer gives us a Free Churchman for Lord Chamberlain; we had already a Papist, Lord Edward Howard, for Vice-Chamberlain. The "oversight," technically speaking, of the Queen's chaplains and the selection of preachers rest with these authorities. The propriety of the arrangement must at once strike every one.—*John Bull.* [We can offer our contemporary no consolation. The union of things sacred and secular involved in a State establishment of religion must needs make "a hash." Those who dislike the compound should not mix the ingredients.—*Norfolk News.*]

#### RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

##### AGGREGATE MEETING OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHERS.

This meeting took place in Finsbury Chapel, on Monday evening last. It had been convened by the Congregational Board of Education, for the purpose of giving utterance to their opinions and sympathies on the subject of daily education. The attendance was not so large as we had hoped it would be; but an auspicious evening, and a meeting of the Home Missionary Society in the neighbourhood, had tended to lessen the attendance. Deep attention on the part of those present, however, manifested the interest felt in the question. Samuel Morley, Esq., presided. A hymn having been sung,

Dr. JENKIN offered up prayer.

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said, the subject which called them together was so important, and the results might, by God's blessing, be so momentous, that he regretted some one more qualified had not been selected to fill that post; but he yielded to none in an earnest, hearty desire to promote the object which was about to occupy their attention. He would briefly advert to the circumstances which led to the meeting. The Congregational Board of Education consisted of a number of persons representing a much larger, and as they trusted a rapidly increasing, number who still hold the voluntary principle in the cause of the education of the people [cheers]. They were prepared to admit that there existed great desuetude of the means of instruction, but yet the reports so freely spread had been greatly exaggerated. From the evidence before them they were bound distinctly to express the opinion that the work of educating the people was a vast one, calling for the continued, unwaried efforts of all those who desired to extend that inestimable blessing; but they believed it was not the work of any Government [cheering]. They believed there was wanting in the education of the people an element which no Government could supply; and that in proportion as Government interference in the matter of education was forced upon the people, in that proportion did that element retire—in other words, as Government interference increased, the hearty, earnest, loving power, only to be found in connexion with the voluntary, unpurchased, because unpurchasable, efforts of the friends of education, would diminish. Looking at the indisposition manifested amongst a vast number of the working classes to send their children to school, and to the great and increasing efforts being made to supply the desired means of instruction, he thought that the education of the people would be sooner and more efficiently completed if left to the voluntary efforts of the friends of education, aided of course by the people themselves, than by the intervention of any coercive measures on the part of Government [cheers]. Further, they considered it very undesirable, even if practicable, to separate secular instruction from religious training [cheers]; and they saw in that fact another impediment in the way of their accepting Government aid. The Board of Education had endeavoured to excite attention to the question of education by establishing normal schools for training teachers, making grants of money in support of those schools where no Government aid was received, or interference permitted. They were desirous of bringing together all those engaged in the work of instruction. There was no body more worthy of being appealed to than Sunday-school teachers, and they were more than others thorough voluntaries in the mode of imparting instruction.

Mr. AINSLIE, the Secretary of the Board, made a few observations as to what the Board had done in relation to that evening. It was a singular fact, that the public expression of opinion on the part of statesmen, religious bodies, various committees, and ecclesiastical and religious societies, had been elicited; but there had been no direct effort, up till then, to elicit the opinion of a large class of persons engaged in the religious education of the great mass of the people. He regretted that the inclemency of the evening, and the holding of a large public meeting in the neighbourhood, had prevented a larger assemblage. Their object was to get an answer to questions something like these:—

Were they, the Sunday-school teachers, of opinion that Government should interfere to control the religious daily education of many of those children whom they taught on the Sunday? and should the Government help to pay for it?

Did they think that a free, unsectarian, but religious education would at all help them in their Sunday engagements? [cheers.]

And were they prepared to the utmost of their power to co-operate with those who were engaged in promoting daily education, in order that that great work might advance more speedily and more generally than it was advancing at present?

The Government had been interfering very seriously with schools lately. A catalogue of works had been published, from which it appeared that certain authors had offered their works to the Government on very reduced terms, which books were to be sold only to those schools that took Government money. This not only put the schools refusing aid from Government in a worse position than those accepting that aid, but he considered it would have a bad effect on the tone of the books written with the special design of being used in Government schools [cheers]. The speaker here read a paragraph from the *Leeds Mercury*, showing that in case of any desire of dismissing a teacher from a Government school, the local school committee might make their appeal to the bishop of the diocese, instead of to three arbitrators, which he considered clear evidence of the course the Government might be expected to pursue. The third point he would allude to was, the gradual progress of the Government with regard to matters of education—first, votes for buildings; then for more general purposes; then for schools and teachers; and lastly, a system of literature provided for the Government, and the endowment of religious teachers [hear, hear].

Letters were here read from the Rev. D. Harris, and the Rev. Samuel Martin, of Westminster, expressive of regret at being unable to attend the meeting.

The Rev. GEORGE SMITH, of Poplar, moved the first resolution, which was as follows:—

That, in the judgment of this meeting, it is indispensable to the social and national welfare of the community that the children of the labouring classes should have a sound daily education: comprising secular learning of the best kind, and religious training based upon the Holy Scriptures, without any bias from denominational creeds or formulæ.

HENRY CHILD, Esq., seconded the resolution. It was by the voluntariness of the work that Sabbath-school

teaching was successful. But he stood there to proclaim the magnitude, the nobility of their duties as Sabbath-school teachers. He maintained that the simple elements of knowledge, reading, &c., should be taught on other days, and the Sabbath reserved for higher duties. It appeared to him that there was no difference between the Sabbath-school teacher in his class and the minister in his pulpit, except that the one had children and the other adults to instruct; and it might be that the souls of children were even more important charges than those of adults. He would desire to impress upon the meeting the necessity for entire harmony between the religious teaching of the Sabbath, and the instruction in the daily schools. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Rev. JOHN CURWEN moved the second resolution:—

That this assembly rejoices in the great and blessed results of Sunday-school instruction, as exemplified in the social condition of our population when contrasted with that of other nations, where free religious teaching in similar institutions has been unknown; and expresses its decided conviction and judgment that daily religious education must be as free from the control and pay of the Government as Sunday-school teaching has been, provided that freedom of thought, liberty of conscience and of worship are to be secured to the rising population of England and her colonies.

He remarked on the duties and services of Sabbath-school teachers; and thought they need not fear the intellect which might be on the Government side, for they themselves might get better books; for they had among them heads that could think and hearts that would lead those heads to the diligence necessary to the production of suitable works, and they might soon show the world such a body of teachers as could not be matched.

CHARLES REED, Esq., in seconding the resolution, remarked upon the modicum of education which only could be imparted to the children in a Sunday-school, when that was the only opportunity they had of receiving instruction, and strongly advocated the establishment of additional day-schools in connexion with the Sunday-schools. He concluded a telling speech by expressing his confidence that Voluntaryism would be found more than a match for all the educational machinations of the Government. The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The third resolution was moved by Mr. Under Sheriff WIRE. It was as follows:—

That this meeting, composed mainly of Sunday-school teachers living in the metropolis, declares its willingness to co-operate in advancing religious daily education, independent of Government interference and support; believing that such education will be a great blessing to the children who are taught, and to their parents; and, further, that it is now absolutely necessary for the progress and efficiency of an enlarged higher order of theological instruction in all Sunday-schools throughout the kingdom.

In an eloquent speech he glanced at the effects of a governmental education on the people, as indicated in the late events in France. The Voluntary system, on the contrary, had covered this land with churches and chapels and schools, not sufficient, indeed, to meet the exigencies of the case. The Voluntary principle, translated into its true meaning, was the application of the gospel of Christ to destroy the evils existing in the present state. It would be a new thing if government patronage did not produce its inevitable results: quenching enthusiasm, crippling genius, and giving the minimum and not the maximum of education [cheers].

The Rev. ALGERNON WELLS, in seconding the resolution, said he was not much discouraged at the paucity of the attendance, for if he was speaking to 500 who every Sunday addressed 5,000 children, he felt he would not be without the possibility of exercising considerable influence in the furtherance of the objects of the evening. Monopoly, bounty, or force, were the means by which the Government could work in the matter of education, and those were not the best means for carrying forward that work, which must spring up from within, and be carried on by benevolent and earnest self-devotion [cheers]. What could Government do for the people? They could reduce taxation [cheers]. Let them reduce the taxes which had been raised to meet the expenses of sinful wars and lavish expenditure. Government had plenty of work before them without any interference in the education of the people, which could be done much better without their aid. He believed that British freedom was greatly involved in refusing to accept from Government aid in educating the people [cheers].

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously. A vote of thanks having been passed to the Chairman, and acknowledged, the meeting separated.

BARNESLEY.—The foundation-stone of a Baptist chapel was laid at Barnsley on the 29th of September, by Mr. Wood, of Worsborough Dale. Mr. Larom, of Sheffield, and Mr. Burton, of Huddersfield, delivered addresses on the occasion. The land, costing about £120, Mr. Wood has generously given.

HAMPSHIRE ASSOCIATION.—The autumnal meeting of this Association was held at Ryde, Isle of Wight, on Wednesday, Oct. 4, 1848. On the preceding evening the Rev. A. Johnson, of Basingstoke, preached. On the following morning (Wednesday) the friends of the Hampshire Sunday-school Union breakfasted together at the Town-hall, and at eleven public service was held at the chapel, when the Rev. David Lloyd preached on the given subject—“The shaking of the nations.” The preacher was, in the afternoon, earnestly requested to publish his discourse. In the meeting for business a resolution passed heartily approving of the discontinuance of the *Regium Donum* for the following reason—because it recognises the appropriation of State money to ecclesiastical purposes by irresponsible persons, involving first a principle which all consistent Dissenters from legislative interference with religion repudiate, and, secondly, a mode of distribution which is not tolerated in any department of the State.

BISHOPSGATE CHAPEL, LONDON.—The Rev. J. C. Gallaway, M.A., formerly of West Bromwich, and lately of St. John, New Brunswick, having been constrained, by domestic affliction, to relinquish his connexion with the Colonial Missionary Society, has accepted a unanimous call to the pastoral office, in connexion with the Rev. H. Townley, at the above place of worship, and entered upon his labours on the 24th of September last.

EALING, MIDDLESEX.—The chapel erected for the

use of the church and congregation under the pastoral care of the Rev. G. J. Adeney, at Ealing, Middlesex, was opened for public worship on Wednesday, October 4th. The Rev. Dr. Morison, of Brompton, preached in the morning from Acts vii. 49, and the Rev. Dr. Leifchild, in the evening, from Eccl. ix. 10. After the morning service, above 100 of the friends dined together at the assembly-room, which was tastefully fitted up for the occasion. After the dinner, addresses were delivered by the Revs. Dr. Morison, W. C. Yonge, J. W. Richardson, E. Miller, J. T. Cumming, J. Dickinson, E. Davies, and Dr. Leifchild. The attendance at both the services was most encouraging, and the contributions during the day, including a few promises, amounted to upwards of £91. The chapel, which is a neat and commodious edifice, in the Gothic style, is erected on the site of the old place of worship, which has, for some time, been too small to accommodate the increasing congregation.

WILNECOTE, WARWICKSHIRE.—On Wednesday, Sept. 27, a new Independent chapel was opened for public worship in the village of Wilnecote, near Tamworth; when the Rev. Thomas Johnson, of Fovant, Wilts, preached in the afternoon, and the Rev. J. Sibree, of Coventry, in the evening. The Rev. J. George, of Polesworth, and the Rev. J. Dorrington, of Tamworth, engaged in the devotional exercises.

THE REV. HENRY ROEBUCK has intimated to his church and congregation that he shall shortly leave Howden, in consequence of personal and family indisposition, arising, as his medical man assures him, from the peculiar atmosphere of the place.

STOCKTON.—On Thursday evening, Sept. 21st, a public tea meeting was held in the school-room of the Congregational Chapel, Stockton, for the purpose of presenting a public testimonial to the Rev. T. Rix, Wesleyan Association minister, on occasion of his removing from that town to Scarborough. The testimonial was purchased from a fund raised by subscriptions from members of different Dissenting congregations, and was presented on behalf of the subscribers by the Rev. W. Campbell, M.A. It consisted of several superior standard works; viz., “Hunter’s Sacred Biography,” “The Works of Josephus,” “Mosheim’s Church History,” and “D’Aubigné’s History of the Reformation”—these four forming a complete history of the Church. Also, “Paley’s Works,” a first-rate “Greek Lexicon,” and “Ainsworth’s Latin and English Dictionary.” Mr. Rix suitably acknowledged the testimonial, and other gentlemen afterwards addressed the meeting, among whom was the Rev. Mr. Ling, who from his own library presented to Mr. Rix a copy of “Jeremy Taylor’s Liberty to Prophecy.” Mr. Rix leaves the town much respected by those who know him; his loss will be felt by many public societies here, especially by the Anti-state-church Association, of which he is an invaluable member, and to which he has rendered important services in Stockton.

SALE AT STOWE.—Saturday was the concluding day of the sale at Stowe. The amount produced up to the end of the first catalogue was £71,303 3s. 3d. In addition to this, Tuesday produced £2,471 10s. 6d.; Wednesday, £321 15s. 6d.; Thursday, £469 5s. 6d.; Friday, £534 9s. 6d.; Saturday, £475 10s.; making the sum realized, £75,564 14s. 3d. The only habitable portions of the mansion at this moment are two or three rooms used by the Marquis of Chandos when at Stowe. The chapel has not escaped the general wreck. The altar-piece and the organ have both been sold, but the colours of the Royal Bucks Militia, bequeathed by the Marquis of Buckingham to the care of his descendants, which hang over the gallery, are yet untouched. What is to become of the mansion and estate nothing authentic is known, though a variety of reports are in circulation.

SALE OF WIVES.—A young man of Edwinstowe, named Freeman, having resolved to withdraw himself from the Eden of wedlock, brought his wife, a comely-looking woman, aged about 18, to Mansfield market, and offered her for sale. The husband, attired in the habiliments of an agricultural labourer, announced his intention, and speedily disposed of his angel love, halter included, for the astounding sum of 1s. 6d.—A few days since, a woman was sold in the market-place at Shepton Mallet for the sum of 5s. After the sale, the purchaser adjourned with his prize to a neighbouring public-house, where they regaled themselves with a good substantial dinner.

A RICH JOKE.—Sir John Cam Hobhouse was presented on Monday with the freedom of the burgh of Dingwall, out of respect for his consistent advocacy of Liberal principles.—*Scotsman*.

PARROT-LIKE.—A gentleman in the neighbourhood of Leeds recently lost a favourite parrot, which had opened the door of its cage and flown into the woods adjoining the house. A search was made for the bird, which was discovered on the branch of a tree, but beyond reach, and it was deemed best to cut it down. Just as the last stroke of the saw was taken, Pol exclaimed “Good night, master,” and flew away.—*Leeds Mercury*.

SUDDEN DEATH OF MRS. ARMITAGE.—This celebrated character expired suddenly on Friday evening, in Birmingham, at the rooms where she had been exhibiting, in New-street. She was seized with a shivering fit, and expired before her medical attendant could arrive. The cause of her death, it is surmised, was disease of the heart. The deceased weighed 31 stone 11 lbs., was 4 feet round the waist, 6 feet round the bust, 7 feet round the hips, and 22 inches round the upper part of her arm. She ate her dinner about an hour before her death.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### PUBLIC HEALTH ACT.—CENTRALIZATION.

“By one of those blunders that our legislators excel in, the Health of Towns Bill cannot be applied to Gateshead without a special application to Parliament. The lower parts of Gateshead are the filthiest in all England,” &c.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR.—The above paragraph was quoted in your paper; and having seen it in several papers, I judge it is going the usual round of such paragraphs, and will have its influence in forming opinion.

As in a matter of legislation on so important a subject as the health of towns, it is of moment that correct opinion should be formed: to assist in this, will you permit me, through the medium of your paper, to make a few observations that occurred to me on reading the quotation.

The notion is there given out that our legislators are blunderers—that it is a blunder the Public Health Act cannot be applied without a special application to Parliament. If the history of the passing of that act be considered, I think it will appear that our legislators are not such egregious blunderers in this particular as represented.

The preamble of the bill states that “it is expedient that the supply of water, and the sewerage, drainage, cleansing, and paving, should, as far as practicable, be placed under one and the same local management and control, subject to such general supervision as is herein-after provided;” but the bill was so drawn that the local management would be nearly annihilated—the General Board of Health being the proposed power under whose direction all matters were to be done, from the keeping of the accounts to the alteration of a privy, and the Local Board, the ostensible agent in carrying out the bill, made a mere machine. This thorough centralization met with such decided opposition that the bill was considerably modified, the Local Board was invested with real power, and the power of interference of the General Board much reduced.

So far the Bill was more acceptable, more nearly approaching the profession of the preamble, and more likely to be effective in its purpose. It was urged on Government that, to make the bill really valuable, besides giving the Local Board independent power, the bill should be so framed as that existing corporate and other bodies, which had a certain amount of, but were deficient in, power, might avail themselves of its provisions, and thus the cost be saved to towns of a fresh application to Parliament. But this was too simple and cheap a method for our Government to adopt, and the plan was devised that now stands part of the act, which in substance is as follows:—After a petition of one-tenth of the ratepayers of any place, or where the deaths exceed on an average of seven years 23 in 1,000 of the population, the General Board can institute an inquiry as to the desirability of the introduction of the act, and, if a local act be in force in such place, whether any and what alterations should be made in the local act. The Commissioner of Inquiry having reported, the General Board can then introduce the act where there is no local act, but where there is, the General Board writes out what it esteems is required, and this document, named a provisional order, if sanctioned by Parliament, will have all the force of an act of Parliament.

So far, then, it is not a blunder in the sense conveyed, but a design; a blunder resulting from ignorance or oversight it certainly was not. Why, it may be asked, should Government insist on this method rather than the one proposed? It is right that the public should make the inquiry.

To answer it directly may be difficult, but if I might presume to offer an opinion, having had opportunity of observing, it would be—because, 1st, The real work of Government is not carried on by the high officers of State, but by the second or even the third rate officials—and because, 2ndly, The idea of centralization has taken hold of several of our leading statesmen, and has been nourished by them till it has become a mania.

As a consequence, these officials, from habit or some other cause, cannot afford to allow a simple and cheap method of legislation to prevail; and the statesmen, from belief, attempt to perfect their centralized notions, regardless of the cost to, or convenience of, the public. There was no objection, that I remember, to the passing of a bill to forward sanitary works; the objection was to the measure as framed, and to the jobbing which would be engendered. Those who were actively engaged in watching the progress of the bill, became convinced that a really useful act was not so much the object of the Government, as the passing of a measure which involved certain principles. The watchmen of the bill did, however, secure a much more effective bill than the one contemplated, and one that may work; though probably such defects will be found in it, that the plea will be raised for another bill, and then the attempt will be made to introduce powers of a much more extensive character, to be vested in the General Board. The argument for such an attempt is, that local bodies do not use the powers vested in them economically, impartially, or wisely, and that a general board is requisite to direct, decide, and enforce. No one has more thoroughly answered this reasoning than Mr. Hudson, the member for Sunderland, who, when Lord Lincoln and others urged it, replied, “that the want of sanitary measures was not the fault of local corporations, but of Government, who would not entrust corporations with the requisite powers.” This was true till a late period, when the fashion of legislation set in for a change.

It is a pity that the act is defective, as it certainly is in some points, for which both the Government and private members deserve censure. Thus, in one clause, which relates to burial grounds, the Government resisted a proposal to give power to form them where required; the Lords, however, introduced the power into the clause, and, will it be believed, that the Lords’ amendment was suffered to be erased by Government, without a word from any member! The reason given for this erasure was, that there was already a General Cemeteries Act, which would be interfered with. It was not stated that to avail themselves of this Cemeteries Act parties must first procure a special act, in which they would be required to embody the general act, and that it is so full of restrictive and partial provisions that no independent freeman would move a hand towards procuring a special act.

It may be averred that the act empowering the intro-

duction of the Public Health Act will be a public act, and so not be costly to the district where it is introduced; but if so, somebody must pay, and the expenses of inquiry, &c., at least, must be paid by the district, and this in and to some districts will be no trifling sum.

I fear being prolix, or I could have adduced other instances, and I have perhaps said enough to show that in all these apparent blunders there is the design, apparently, by gradual and extensive centralization, to create places, and by intricate legislation to secure fees. The British public does not object to a central board for suggestion and advice, or even for inspection; but to one with power and obligation to intermeddle in all matters I trust it ever will, for lavish expenditure and a slavish habit of mind are almost a certain result. Let the future Public Health Act be characterised by the ease with which it may be adopted, and the extensiveness of its provisions, and it will become immediately effective.

Yours respectively,  
Rochdale, October 7, 1848. EDWARD TAYLOR.

BLACKBURN.—"HOPE DEFERRED."—On Tuesday week a happy couple should have been married by license, in Church Kirk. The interesting ceremony was delayed, in consequence of the bridegroom having, in a fit of absence, enclosed the license in a letter of credit he despatched on Monday night.

AFFECTING OCCURRENCE.—A working-man, at Merthyr, named Longfellow, last week sent a letter to his wife, then staying at Newport (we quote the *Merlin*), saying that he was very much distressed in mind, as he had had a dream for two or three nights, in which he saw himself surrounded by some great trouble, which was occasioned either by injury to her or their only child, a very interesting boy, five years old. He therefore begged her to come to Merthyr, that he might be relieved from his foreboding; and he particularly cautioned her to avoid all danger on the way. Anxious to free her husband's mind from its distress, and to show him herself and his child were well and happy, she on Wednesday morning settled her affairs in Newport, packed up her goods, and placed them all ready for her departure; but before she went she bade her neighbours good bye. While at the house of one, taking some refreshment, accompanied by her little boy, she was talking of her journey, and did not perceive the absence of the child for a few minutes. In the interim, he had stolen out, and, with his bread and cheese in his hand, was talking to a woman, saying he was "going to say good-bye to Johnny," who had been his playmate. Nothing more was heard or seen of him alive. He was afterwards taken quite dead out of the canal, into which, in his haste, he had fallen. An inquest was held at the Dock Tavern, on the body of the boy, and a verdict of "Accidental death" was returned.

STEAM NAVIGATION TO AUSTRALIA.—The beginning of the year 1849, which is now fast approaching, will be distinguished in the history of this country as the period when a steam communication, by way of Egypt and India, was established between Great Britain and our vast colonies in Australasia. For some months past powerful and well-appointed steamers have been leaving Southampton Water, and wending their way to the Indian Ocean, prepared to convey, or to supply the place of those which may be appointed to convey, mails between Singapore and New South Wales. In five weeks' time the Government will have entered into contract, probably with one single steam navigation company, for the conveyance of mails eastward for upwards of twelve thousand miles. Very shortly, a letter posted in England will be delivered in about two months afterwards at the antipodes.—*Daily News*.

INCITEMENT TO DRUNKENNESS A PUNISHABLE OFFENCE.—The 11th and 12th Vict. c. 43, an Act for the better administration of justice, which came into operation on Monday last, contains a clause (the 5th section) which enacts that "every person who shall aid or abet, counsel or procure, the commission of any offence," of which the Magistrates have the power summarily to convict, may be convicted as an aider and punished with the same penalty as the principal offender, and the conviction of the accomplice may take place, either before, or at the same time, or after that of the principal offender. Thus a man who is a party to the drunkenness of another may be convicted as an aider, and so may also any person who incites another to swear, or to commit any other offence which the Magistrates have the power to punish.

DELIBERATE MURDER AT BOLTON.—Schofield, a weaver of Bolton, returning home late on Saturday night week, intoxicated, was stopped at Tootal Bridge, a short distance from the town, by two men who demanded his money: he said he had none: they searched him, but found nothing. Apprehensive, apparently, that Schofield would rouse the neighbourhood, the villains determined to throw him over the bridge. "The battlements are at least four feet high, and he struggled with the men; but in vain. He begged that they would let him drop down, so that he might have a chance of escaping with his life. This they consented to do; and they put him over with his feet first. When hanging over the bridge, he got hold of the coping-stone, and kept himself suspended for a second or two; but the murderers struck his hands with a bludgeon, or something of the sort, until he could hold no longer, and the unfortunate man fell to the ground, on the bank of the brook, a distance of fifteen yards." He was found in a dying state at five o'clock next morning, and expired at noon. He described the circumstances narrated above, but could give little information of a nature to lead to the detection of the criminals. It is supposed that they were two men who attempted to commit more than one robbery on the same night.

## FOREIGN AND COLONIAL NEWS.

### FRANCE.

#### THE DEBATE ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

On Wednesday the debate on the Constitution was resumed.

The 27th article, as amended by the Committee, was adopted. M. Flandin proposed that the functions of all salaried officers be declared incompatible with those of representative of the people. The proposition was adopted by a considerable majority. This vote was followed by a great agitation. M. Lupé next moved that the exclusions should be fixed by the organic law.—Agreed to. The whole was adopted by a majority of 637 to 107. M. Sarrau moved that the officers of the land and naval armies should be also ineligible. General Cavaignac said the discussion would come on more naturally during the discussion on the electoral law. Personally, he was indifferent to the proposed exclusion; but he could not help observing, that it would be an act of injustice and ingratitude [approbation].

The 28th Article, providing that no member of the representative should be appointed or promoted to salaried public functions during the legislature, was agreed to, and the 29th Article voted without opposition.

The discussion then opened on the 30th Article:—

The National Assembly is elected for three years, and is integrally renewed.

Voted.

On Article 31, M. Duplan proposed to authorize the National Assembly to choose the place where it wished to hold its sessions, and to fix the military force required for its security, and for the maintenance of the respect due to it, and which was to be at its orders. Carried by a considerable majority.

On Thursday, articles

32. The representatives are always re-eligible.

33. The members of the National Assembly are the representatives, not of the department which elects them, but of the whole of France.

34. They cannot receive from their constituents any fixed directions as to their votes.

35. The representatives of the people are inviolable. They cannot be molested, accused, or brought to trial, at any time for the opinions which they may have expressed in the National Assembly.

And article

36. They cannot be arrested in criminal matters, except in *flagrante delicto*, nor prosecuted, unless after the Assembly have authorized the prosecution:

were severally adopted. The following additional paragraph to the latter:—

The case in which the representative is taken in *flagrante delicto* shall be immediately brought before the Assembly, which will maintain or annul the arrest:

was proposed by M. Flandin, and after some discussion put to the vote, and upon a second trial adopted. M. Rousseau proposed to add to the clause the words:—

Or to the committee charged with its powers during its prorogation.

Rejected. M. Reynal proposed the following additional article:—

The residence of a representative cannot be subjected to the visits of the agents of the authorities;

and said that the inviolability of the representative would not be complete if his residence was not also secure from intrusion [slaughter, and cries of "the previous question." The President announced that M. Reynal had consented to postpone his amendment until the proposition of M. Laurent (de l'Ardèche) on the inviolability of representatives was discussed.

Article 37. Each representative of the people is to receive an indemnity, which he cannot renounce.

M. Abbal then proposed the following amendment:—

Each representative of the people is to receive an indemnity, which he cannot renounce, and which cannot exceed 450f. a month;

which was put to the vote and rejected. M. Dalbis du Salze said, that he had thought that the indemnity decreed by the Provisional Government would only have been temporary [violent murmurs, and cries of "Divide, divide!"]. In every point of view the principle of indemnity would be better placed in the organic electoral law than in the constitution [renewed cries of "Divide!"]. M. Dufaure said, hon. gentlemen might be certain that the principle of an indemnity paid to representatives was not a mere expedient but a constitutional act. Without the indemnity, to grant all citizens the power of being elected would be an odious deception [hear, hear]. Without the indemnity an immense number of citizens from want of fortune would not be able to sit in the Chamber.

Article 37 was then put to the vote and adopted, without one member rising against it.

Articles 38, "The sittings of the Assembly are public. Nevertheless, the Assembly can form itself into a secret committee on the demand of the number of representatives fixed by the regulations;" and "39. The presence of one-half of the members of the Assembly, plus one, is necessary for the validity of the vote of a law,"

were adopted.

On Friday, the 40th, or following article, came under consideration:—

Every proposition having for its object to declare the urgency of discussing a project of decree is preceded by an *exposé* of motives. If the Assembly thinks proper to vote the proposition urgent, it orders it to be referred to the bureaux and fixes a day for its discussion. A committee, named in the bureaux, reports on the urgency only. If the Assembly admits the urgency, it declares it, and fixes the time of its discussion. If it decides against the urgency, the project follows the course of ordinary propositions.

The first paragraph of the article having been adopted without any discussion, M. Faure demanded the suppression of the four following as useless, the regulations of the Assembly determining the course to be pursued on such occasions.—Rejected. M. de

St. Priest asked that urgency should be declared by a majority of two-thirds. This having been rejected, he proposed three-fifths. Twenty members having called for a division, the result gave:—

Voters	720
Absolute majority	361
For the amendment	360
Against it	360

The amendment was therefore rejected.

M. de St. Priest then proposed that the absolute majority of the whole Assembly should be required to make the vote valid. This and several other amendments were likewise rejected.

The Committee on the Constitution had taken into consideration an amendment of M. Girard, who suggested that forty-five days previous to the close of the Legislature, the Assembly should invite the electors to proceed to the election of the next Legislative Assembly; and that, if that formality were not complied with, the electors should themselves proceed on the 30th day preceding the close of the Legislature, to choose the new Legislative Assembly, which would replace the other the day after its close. This article was voted without any discussion.

#### THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

M. Marrast afterwards read the following article of the Constitution:—

Chapter V. of the Executive Power. Article 41. The French people delegate the Executive Power to a citizen, who assumes the title of President of the Republic.

This article gave rise to considerable discussion.

M. Piat, the first speaker, declared himself against the appointment of a President. He was opposed to the separation of powers. The President, elected according to the Constitution, would possess almost irresistible power. The case of the United States was not in point. The American union was composed of heterogeneous parts, and required a strong executive power to keep them together. The danger for America was disunion. France, on the contrary, was unity *par excellence*, one and indivisible as her soil, and as proclaimed by the Assembly. He accordingly should reject the President, because he would tend to absorb all the other powers and convert the Republic into a Monarchy. What M. Piat desired was a simple President of the Council, elected by the Assembly.

M. de Tocqueville said, the committee, by an imposing majority, had once more resolved to maintain that division of powers which was the safeguard of free governments. The committee had inserted in the Constitution a clause which was not to be found either in the American Constitution or in that of the year III., by declaring the President responsible. The Council of Ministers was also responsible. The executive power had not the absolute or suspensive veto vested in the President of the United States. The National Assembly was the real head of the Republic, of which the executive power was a mere agent. To deny the President the faculty of interfering in public affairs, to refuse him the moral force necessary to his office, would be to reduce him to the condition of an instrument and to reinstate the Convention. He, however, had no such apprehension.

M. Parien defended the election of the President by the Assembly. M. Fresneau took the other side. The opinion was universal, that they had no power to nominate the President. The discussion was adjourned to the next day, and the sitting was brought to a close at a quarter-past six.

On Friday, M. Fresneau concluded his speech. M. Grevy, who followed, advocated the principle of the election of the President by the Assembly, but the President he desired would be a mere Prime Minister, named for an indefinite period, and revocable at will. M. La Fayette maintained the necessity of the separation of powers. M. Leblond opposed the election of a mere President of the Council, and defended the appointment of the President of the Republic by the Assembly.

M. Lamartine, who followed, said:—

The Government of the Convention was out of the question. Everybody reproved the reign of terror, which was besides uncalled for by circumstances. The same might be said of a Government entrusted to committees, the most terrible of all, since they were anonymous. The Assembly should not be pre-occupied with the argument adduced by M. Parien, that if the election took place by the country, it would reveal the existence of a majority hostile to the Republic. The descendant of a monarchy of fourteen ages would not stand candidate for a precarious post, of which the duration was to be fixed to three or four years at most. The illegitimate dynasty of July was not to be apprehended either; that dynasty, which had sunk of itself, although supported by the constituted bodies of the State and the army, could not, six months after its downfall, expect to re-enter France through the electoral urn. The Assembly then feared another danger; but he would tell it times were changed since the Assembly had opened the gates of the country and legislature to the heir of the most glorious name of modern times. The Provisional Government bound to watch over the security of the Republic had maintained his banishment, but he (M. Lamartine) bowed to the wisdom displayed by the Assembly. There was nothing to fear from posthumous fanaticism. An eighteenth Brumaire required two things—long years of terror behind, and Marengo and other victories in prospect. The real cause of danger existed in a certain incredulity, a want of faith, a culpable indifference, and the disaffection that pervaded a great portion of the population.

And is it in such a state of things that we are recommended to declare to this country, in so great a proportion set against the Republic, that we deprive it of the exercise of its sovereignty—that we banish it from its own Republic, as for thirty-four years nineteen out of every twenty of the electors were banished under the monarchy? If I wanted to throw discredit on the Republic, I could not invent anything that could prove more fatal to it; but if I wanted to draw back to it the heart of every citizen, I would say to him, "Reflect, judge, and choose yourself, amongst your fellow citizens,

him who inspires you with most confidence; he will not be your master, but he will be your highest personification, your head, your moderator, the regulator of your Republican institutions, the guardian of your honour and your fortunes." It has been said that we want to place the functions of President too high, and that his influence will exceed that of the Assembly. I, for my part, maintain that a President nominated by the Assembly would not be anything else than a part of the Assembly, and not a distinct function; and that the existence of such a power would still more tend to weaken the respect of the people for the chief power: universal suffrage alone can give it strength. When universal suffrage nominates a President, what else is it than that each citizen strips himself individually of his sovereignty, to invest with it, not a man, but a strong Government? Now look at the other system—that of M. Flocon. Were that adopted, the President, in place of issuing into the open day from the urn of the people, would come forth in the midst of the Assembly by a majority of sixty or thirty, or even three or four votes [suspension]. I say that probably he would be elected by some petty majority; his name would be inserted the next day in the *Moniteur*, and all would be over. Are you aware what would happen? Envy would come forward, and seek out the reason of each of your votes. "You," it would say to one, "you voted for the President because you are his relative, and because you want to aggrandize yourself by his means." "You," it would say to another, "gave him your vote because you are his particular friend, and you imagine that his high position will cast *delit* on yourself." "You," it would say to a third, "voted for him because you wanted an embassy." [Loud murmurs and interruption.]

The hon. gentleman here suspended his remarks for two or three minutes, whilst the lustres were being let down from the ceiling.]

M. de Lamartine went on: I was remarking, that the vote of the Assembly would excite suspicion. I believe firmly in the incorruptibility of the mass of the citizens; and, on the other hand, I have no doubt that unworthy motives would be attributed to the members of the Assembly. Ought not that consideration, were it the only one, to be a powerful extenuation of the arguments of the partisans in favour of the nomination by the Assembly? It has been objected, that a President, emanating from popular suffrage, might become the founder of a tyranny. What! You speak of the excess of strength in an executive power which succeeds to an overturned throne. Who would even dare to conceive the idea of a usurpation? And besides, do you not see, that in giving to each citizen the right to choose his head, you give him at the same time the right to judge and to punish? [hear, hear]. I now stop, gentlemen, not because I have exhausted the series of considerations which I had to bring forward in support of the opinion I defend, but because the clock warns me to come to a close. I stop, therefore, declaring to you that, for my part, I have confidence in our Republic, in the rights which it has given to all citizens, and in the respects which they will feel in exercising them. For my part, I have thrown into this Republic my whole life, my whole soul, all that I have of strength and will [hear, hear]. I firmly believe, that all they who had the unspeakable happiness of proclaiming, with me, the Republican era, will protect it with all their might. If there are dangers in consulting the masses, if the multitude can be fascinated and led away, we shall perish. [Cries of "No, no."] I say, "Perhaps; but should the Republic perish, and we with it, we will exclaim with the conquered hero of Pharsalia, "Vicitrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni," and posterity shall be our judge. [Loud applause, which lasted for some time.]

The speech of M. de Lamartine, on Friday, was the virtual conclusion of the debate on the presidency. The universal feeling after its conclusion was, that the question was practically settled. The debate was resumed on Saturday amidst a feeling of manifest lassitude and impatience on the part of the Assembly. On the amendment of M. Grevy, declaring that there should be no President of the Republic, but merely a council of ministers, the Assembly divided, and the result was—for the amendment, 168; against it, 643. The Assembly then discussed the amendment proposed by M. Flocon, in favour of the nomination of the President by the Assembly. After some discussion, the Assembly voted almost unanimously the adoption of the 41st article of the constitution, to the following effect:—

The French people delegates the executive power to a citizen, who shall receive the title of President of the Republic.

The 42nd article, referring to the age of the President, was postponed, and the debate was taken on the 43rd article, which declares that "the President shall be named by direct and universal suffrage, by ballot, and by an absolute majority." To this M. Leblond proposed an amendment, requiring that the election of President be made by the Assembly.

The following is the result of the important vote on this amendment:—

Voters present .....	813
For the amendment.....	211
Against it .....	602

**THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION.**—All the members of the Cabinet voted in the minority on this question. The *Times* correspondent writing on Monday, speculating on the result of the vote, says:—

Yesterday the advent of Prince Louis Napoleon to the Presidency of the Republic in the first instance was regarded nearly as *un fait accompli*. To-day all is uncertainty and chaos. I shall observe, however, that the candidates for the Presidency will be so many that the condition with which the election is clogged, that three millions of votes must have been given for the successful one, will in all likelihood prevent the return of any, as that in the end the choice may revert to the Assembly.

The principal candidates for the Presidency of the Republic will be General Cavaignac, Prince Louis Napoleon, M. de Lamartine, but we shall no doubt have in the field a representative of more advanced opinions. Prince Louis Napoleon has come and has said nothing to promote or defeat his pretensions, if he have any, yet, in the provinces at least, his popularity has in-

creased. M. Lamartine is fast recovering public favour. These three will leave all other competitors behind, but the struggle will be between General Cavaignac and the Prince. You must expect, however, stirring scenes ere the affair be brought to a conclusion.

Disturbances occurred at Lyons on Tuesday; the disbanded Gardes Mobile assembled and riotously demanded their pay, attacking the Prefecture and making prisoner of the Prefect. But a small detachment of troops was enough to recapture the Prefecture and disperse the rioters; and in a few hours order was perfectly restored.

The French Government, it is said, has addressed an energetic note to the Vienna Cabinet against the entry of Jellachich into Hungary.

**PRINCE LOUIS BUONAPARTE** has decided to sit for Paris: in consequence, new elections will take place in the departments of the Yonne, the Charente Inferieure, the Moselle, and Corsica.

**THE COMMITTEE ON PRISON LABOUR** has resolved, by a majority of seven to three, that the produce of prison labour shall not be allowed to compete with that of free labour, but is to be consumed by the State or given to charitable establishments. General de Lamoriciere supplied the committee with some valuable information relative to supplying the army by prison labour.

**EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.**—The committee on slave emancipation have fixed the nominal amount of the indemnity to the slaveholders at 120,000,000f. (£4,800,000). One-third of this amount to be paid in 5 per cent. stock at par, the other two-thirds remaining due and payable in eight annuities will be immobilized, attached to the soil, and destined to support labour in the colonies. —*Daily News*.

**RETRENCHMENT.**—The report of the Committee of Finances displays a determination to effect a most radical reform. The principle recommended by the committee as the basis of the public economy of the government, is to suppress all useless departments of the public service, and, in such departments as may be continued, to suppress all useless functionaries, taking care that the business of the country shall be performed by as small a number of *employés* as possible; these, however, being well paid. "It is," says the report, "for the government to accomplish this task. It alone, having a thorough knowledge of the service performed in the different departments, can usefully carry into effect most of the reforms." Nevertheless, the committee specify certain reductions which they particularly recommend. The saving proposed to be effected is about thirty-six per cent. on the salaries of diplomatic functionaries.

The gross annual sum at present paid in salaries to the prefect of departments is £68,680. This is proposed to be subjected to a sweeping reduction, the committee declaring that these functionaries will be sufficiently paid by an annual allowance of £45,280, the saving being about thirty-four per cent. These may serve as models of the rate at which the government is expected to reduce other salaries, to say nothing of the vast number of places to be abolished.

The total of the credits at present opened for the year 1848 is 1,836,849,915f.; the government proposes to reduce them to 1,781,372,486f.; but the committee fixes them at 1,776,935,277f. As to the receipts, including the reserve of the sinking fund, they have been estimated, according to the best calculations, at only 1,467,662,818f., which makes a deficit of more than 300,000,000f. This deficit will be covered by the three loans which have been contracted; but there will remain almost nothing for the year 1849, which will be obliged to suffice for itself, and to do that its expenses must not exceed the produce of the taxes. The committee declares that it cannot propose any notable reduction on the budgets of war, marine, and public works. The war budget will, therefore, remain fixed at 432,254,724f. It has been increased nearly 208,000,000f. on the budget fixed for last year; the effective of the army at the end of this year will be 502,715 men, and 100,293 horses. The increase in the budget of the marine department has only been 6,533,615f.; it is fixed at 151,978,520f. The budget of public works will be 217,323,688f.; and the extraordinary service of the department will take 126,350,000f.

#### GERMANY.

The *Courrier du Bas Rhine* of the 5th instant states that the Central Government of Frankfort has called into active service all the Federal contingents; that 12,000, 15,000, and 20,000 men were to be formed on different points, composed of Prussian, Hessian, Austrian, and Bavarian troops, and that the latter were actually proceeding to the respective cantonments assigned to them between Mannheim and the Swiss frontier.

The struggle between Prussia and the Central Power of Germany appears imminent. The weakest must go to the wall. The King has refused, at the call of the Archduke's Ministers, to withdraw his ambassadors at the various Courts; while the Berlin Assembly, on the other hand, has almost unanimously (the two Auerswalds voting in the majority) adopted the proposition of M. Rodbertus, requesting the Ministry to inform the Central Power (in conformity with the law of the 28th of June, claiming submission by all Governments to the decrees of Frankfort), that Prussia is prepared to support the Central Power in all measures that it may be pleased to adopt in the Danish question.

#### AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

By an Imperial decree, Field-Marshal Lieutenant Count Lamberg had been appointed Special Military Commissioner for Hungary. He is to take the

command of all troops, guards, and borderers, (those of Croatia included), in the countries belonging to the Crown of Hungary. The same Imperial decree expresses his Majesty's resolution to suppress the civil war in Hungary; it imposes an armistice on the conflicting parties, and orders the Moravian troops to enter Hungary for the suppression of the Slavonic insurrection in that country. The Emperor published manifestoes to his people of Hungary giving a "candid account of his tendencies," and setting forth his policy, both documents being undisguisedly reactionary.

Count Lamberg proceeded at once to Pesth, and has been openly slain by the Hungarian populace. Letters of the 28th September state, that on his arrival in Pesth his house was beset by an excited populace, intent on killing him; he escaped thence, and fled to the Commander-in-chief's house in Buda; tracked thither, he attempted to return and claim the protection of the Diet; he was stopped on the bridge, torn from his carriage, and killed on the spot; and his disfigured body was dragged by the maddened people through the streets of the town.

Previously to his arrival the Diet had resolved that the commission by which he was appointed was illegal, as it was countersigned by no Minister; and that all troops and officials obeying him would commit high treason to Hungary.

The Government at Pesth had assumed a decidedly "provisional" character, with Kossuth at its head. He had returned from Keckemet on the 28th of September, stating that he had 12,000 men in Camp. Preparations were made for an obstinate defence of Pesth, ladies of rank working in the trenches.

On the 30th of September Vienna was in a state of high excitement on the subject of some letters from the Ban of Croatia to the Austrian Secretary at War, which have been intercepted by the Hungarians, and published. The letters have abruptly disclosed what was before surmised only, that a treacherous understanding has existed between the Austrian Court and Jellachich in his quarrel with the Hungarians, proving that the Imperial Government had been supplying him with money.

The Ban of Croatia has been named by the Emperor Commander-General of Hungary, and all the Imperial troops in the country were placed under his orders.

A placard was posted at Vienna on the 3rd inst., in which it is said that the left wing of the Ban of Croatia's army was defeated on the 29th, on which occasion 800 Croatians were driven into a bog, where they were drowned. The Ban and his army were driven back to the banks of the Plattensee. Prisoners were made by either party. The Hungarians captured Count Zichy, and hung him on the spot. On the other hand, the *Breslauer Zeitung* speaks of a total rout which the Hungarian army, under the command of their War Minister Messaros, suffered at St. Thomas, when they attacked the Servians in their camp, who were reinforced by detachments of their party from the Roman encampments and Sireg.

#### ITALY.

**IMPERIAL MANIFESTO.**—The Emperor of Austria has issued a manifesto to his Lombardo Venetian subjects, dated from Vienna on the 28th September; reminding them that he has already granted a full pardon to those who had taken part in the events of the past year, excepting only "public functionaries who continued subsequently to retain office." He continues:—"It is also our sovereign will that the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom shall possess a constitution conformable to their respective nationalities and the wants of their country respectively, and destined to cement their union with the Austrian empire. To that effect, the moment when peace and tranquillity shall be completely restored, we will convolve, in a town hereafter to be fixed, an assembly of representatives of the nation, freely elected by all the provinces of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom."

**THE ANGLO-GALlican MEDIATION.**—The Austrian Government has now formed its determination, and communicated it in an official form to the other Governments of Europe. The Imperial Cabinet intends to cede no part whatever of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, which it claims to hold, and does actually hold, by the two-fold right of treaty and of arms. Meaning to keep possession of the whole of this part of his dominions until such time as it may be wrested from him by superior force, the Emperor Ferdinand has at once announced his intention of proclaiming an amnesty to those persons who were engaged in the late insurrection, and of promulgating a constitution adapted to his Italian provinces. It will be observed that this announcement not only amounts to a positive rejection of the proposed severance of Lombardy from Venice, but it does not even extend to that species of provincial independence which was not long ago contemplated at Vienna.—*Times*.

The *Presse* states that King Charles Albert having refused to accept Innspruck as the seat of a European Congress, for the adjustment of the Italian question, the French Government had proposed to England and to the belligerent Powers that it be held at Rome. Accordingly, on Thursday evening, M. Bastide despatched couriers to London, Turin, and Vienna, to demand the adhesion of the respective Courts to the proposition.

#### NAPLES AND SICILY.

**A DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE** on the subject of Sicily has been published by the *Times*. It extends from the 28th August to the 19th September: the persons principally engaged in it are M. de Rayneval, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Naples; Lord Napier, the British Secretary of Legation; and the

Prince of Cariati, Neapolitan Minister for Foreign Affairs. The French and British representatives endeavour to urge on the Neapolitan Government the mediation of England between the King and the Sicilians, showing that further attempts at coercion incur a chance of total failure, and would at all events exasperate the bad feeling. At first, the Neapolitan Minister endeavours to put off the diplomats with general expressions in favour of humanity and peace; but subsequently he protests against any intervention between the King and his subjects, and roundly asserts that the insurrection would have been put down but for the countenance and "moral aid" which the rebels have received from abroad. Among the documents is an episodical correspondence between M. Nonay and Captain Robb, French and English naval commanders, on the one part, and the Prince of Satrano, the Neapolitan commander, on the other. The English and French commanders, though they do not require the Prince to give up Messina, call upon him to suspend hostilities during the negotiations at Naples for general peace. The Prince of Satrano sends to Naples for fresh instructions; but finally, on the 13th of September, he declares that there are no reasons for a further suspension of hostilities.

Perfect tranquillity prevailed at Naples, and the suspension of arms was religiously observed at Messina and in every part of Sicily. It was generally understood that the King would consent to grant a separate administration and constitution, but he was understood to object to the sending his second son as Viceroy and consenting to a regency.

#### SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

The Hamburg papers announce the appointment of Messrs. Preusser, Boysen, Heinze, and Reventlow, as members of the new Provisional Government, according to the provisions of the armistice between Germany and Denmark. The Schleswigers do not appear to have any objections against the above-named persons. The impromptu administration of Count Moltke and Messrs. Johannsen and Hansen has not received the support of the Danish Government. It is expected that before long the negotiations for the final conclusion of peace will be commenced in London.

#### WALLACHIA.

In Wallachia Proper, it appears by all accounts that Russia still peremptorily demands the re-establishment of the former order of things, and has held out threatening language, not only to "the powers that be" in Wallachia, but to the Sublime Porte itself. Meantime the Russian General, Duhamel, is forwarding the troops to the Wallachian frontiers. The new Turkish commissioner, Fuad Effendi, is more pliant towards the Russians than his predecessors. It is to be feared that unless England interfere, the newly acquired liberties of the Walachians will be totally withdrawn.

The latest news from Bucharest states that the populace had forced the Metropolitan to burn publicly the Russian letter of protection, and to give his benediction to the new Romanian constitution.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

PROGRESS OF THE COLONY.—Wellington papers to the 7th of June have been brought to England by the India mail. At Wanganui, a scene of former conflict, there were no signs of disturbance: the land question had been satisfactorily settled, and "the whole of the hostile chiefs had agreed to the terms proposed." A system of registering births, deaths, and marriages, had been introduced by legislative ordinance, and the Lieutenant-Governor of "New Munster" had proclaimed the names and boundaries of the Deputy-Registrars' districts.

The *Bombay Telegraph* publishes a letter, dated the 16th April, from Mr. Cargill, the New Zealand Company's resident agent at Otago, describing the arrival of the "John Wickliffe" and "Philip Laing" from London and Greenock, with the whole of the "preliminary party" of colonists. No death had occurred on board the "John Wickliffe"; in the "Philip Laing" four children had died, and three were born. The whole number of settlers landed from the two ships was 278. A temporary barrack for the women and children, with a store of three months' provisions and groceries, had been got on shore; and arrangements had been made to keep up the supply and dispense the goods at cost price till trade with the other settlements should be established. The lands were staked out, and ready for choice and occupation. Meanwhile, town works were commenced, to give employment to the labourers until the land-clearing should be commenced. The choice and purchase of lands had begun, and the occupation was rapidly and prosperously going on; the good sales being made to *bond fide* settlers in Otago.

#### CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

ANOTHER INSURRECTION.—Advices from the Cape to the 30th July describe new and somewhat serious disturbances on the north-eastern frontier. The emigrant Boers, under Andreas Pretorius, were again in open revolt on the 22nd of July, endeavouring to raise the native chiefs, and to move in a large force to the attack of Natal. It seems that Pretorius, under some strange impression of sympathy and common intention, had written direct to Sir Andries Stockenstrom, and laid all his plans open to him. In the letter, Pretorius spoke confidently of Panda, the Zoola chief, as his ally; of Moshesh and Moroko as wavering, but likely to join him, willingly or unwillingly; with whose assistance, and that of the lesser chiefs, who could not stand aloof by themselves, he seemed confident of being able to make root and branch work with the British, and punish the waverers and traitors amongst his own country-

men. In addressing Sir Andries as a colleague and brother in revolt, and giving him due notice of his proceedings, he requested from him supplies of gunpowder and lead, and expressed his gratification at hearing that "Sir Andries was on the move!" Sir Andries sent the letters instantly to Sir Harry Smith.

On the receipt of the intelligence from Bloem Fontein, Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £1,000 for the capture of Pretorius; and an express was forwarded to Graham's Town, ordering troops to march for Colesberg. This order had, however, been anticipated by Colonel Somerset, who had received intelligence direct from Major Warden, and had despatched the same day two companies of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and one six-pounder, for Colesberg. On the 25th July, a man-of-war left Simon's Bay for Natal. Sir Harry Smith left Cape Town on the morning of the 29th for the north-eastern frontier, to put himself at the head of the force rapidly concentrating on Colesberg. Preparations were already made for moving towards Wenburg with an auxiliary force, should it be required.

The accounts from the immediate scene of insurrection are not very full; but it would seem that the resident magistrate at Wenburg had only saved himself by a hasty flight, leaving some of his family and his clerk in the hands of the insurgents; and that the British resident at Bloem Fontein, Major Warden, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, and carried to the rebel camp by a party of armed Boers, who waylaid him when engaged in the duties of his office.

By news to the 5th of August, we learn that Major Warden, who is stationed at Bloem Fontein, with fifty-seven soldiers and forty-two civilians, had found himself obliged to surrender his post to the insurgent leader Pretorius, and to withdraw beyond Orange River.

#### WEST INDIES.

The mail steam-ship "Medway" arrived at Southampton on Thursday, with papers from Jamaica to the 7th, and St. Thomas to the 17th September.

The most important news is personal. Sir Charles Edward Grey, the Governor-General of Jamaica, met with a serious accident, which has in all probability before now deprived him of life. Sir Charles was thrown from his mule on the 5th September, while riding at Highgate, his country residence; and was so stunned by the fall that he remained insensible for two hours after he was taken up. On the return of consciousness, he suffered agonizing pain; and it was found that two ribs were broken, and the spine discoloured. On the morning of the 6th, the black vomit had been observed; in the afternoon, confirmed symptoms of yellow fever had shown themselves; and there seemed little hope that he could recover. At a meeting of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, held in Spanish Town on the 6th, Dr. Morales announced that he had just returned from the King's House, where he had been to make an inquiry after the state of the Governor; and had been told by Mr. Pilgrim, the Secretary, that Sir Charles was not expected to be alive on the following day. The last report before the sailing of the steamer was quite hopeless.

The House of Assembly and Council Board met on the 6th; but owing to the Governor's severe illness, no business was done, and an adjournment was agreed to as a mark of respect.

In the Assembly, on the 23rd July, in consequence of the great distress in the island, a bill had been introduced, and read a first time, to extend the time allowed for paying taxes due in the year 1847.

The riots against the collection of taxes in the parish of St. Mary's, Jamaica, reported by the last steamer, have been suppressed. At one period those rebellious proceedings assumed a formidable appearance, and so many as 500 men armed with sticks and bludgeons were collected together to prevent levies for taxes. A sergeant of police and several men were severely hurt in one of the frays. Informations had been sworn against twenty-four persons implicated in the revolt, and warrants of apprehension were issued.

The Danish islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix are reported by Lieutenant South, R.N., Admiralty agent of the "Medway," to be again in a threatening condition. The Danish authorities and soldiers are under the necessity of great vigilance, fearing another revolt of the black population.

SUNDAY DELIVERY OF LETTERS.—A majority of the Town-Council of Manchester memorialized the Postmaster-General to close the Post-office in that town entirely on the Sunday; this was backed by other memorials. The application was only partially successful; for the Postmaster-General "finds it would not be expedient to dispense with the only delivery of letters which takes place on that day, and which is generally concluded by ten a.m.; but he has been pleased to authorize the cessation on Sunday of all other duties at the post-office after that hour, excepting from five to six p.m., when a clerk shall attend to receive foreign letters only, the postage of which cannot be paid in stamps."

THE BRIGHTON AND SOUTH COAST RAILWAY and the South-Western Company have settled differences respecting the Portsmouth traffic. There will be but one terminus in the town, that of the Brighton line; trains of both Companies starting thence, and branching off west or south at Cosham or Hilssea, as they respectively belong to one or the other line. It is said that "the public will materially benefit" by this arrangement. The whole scale of fares, however, except for the "Parliamentary" trains, will be raised.

#### MISGOVERNMENT OF CEYLON.

(From a Correspondent.)

Aug. 14th, 1848.

It is likely you are not in want of topics of discussion nearer home; nevertheless, as you occasionally glance at the misgovernment of the colonies, I send you by this mail Ceylon papers containing news of importance, as indicating the state of things here. For some time the colonial revenue has been falling off, and recently the local Government was obliged to reduce, in some trifling amount, the export duties: on cinnamon and coffee, (these duties here are something equivalent to a land-tax, for cinnamon and coffee properties pay no other direct taxes); but instead of reducing the expenditure in the same proportion, they determined to impose additional taxes, which are not only unjust, as they fall almost entirely upon the poor natives, who already pay nearly the whole of the revenue, but are also utterly unsuitable to the country and most repugnant to the feelings of the people; and, to crown all, they have been carried into effect with such singular indiscretion, that the whole of the native population, who have always been so remarkable for their patience and submission, are now very disaffected. Serious outbreaks have occurred in some districts, and an actual rebellion has taken place in the central provinces, in which many lives have been lost, and much property destroyed; and, as this state of things will probably deter the Coolies from coming in from the Indian coast, many of the planters will lose their coffee crops this season for want of labour. Government, anxious to remove from themselves the grave responsibility of bringing this fine colony into such a sad condition, have been busy in seeking other causes for the disaffection than the new taxes. But all who are conversant with the people, know that these unjust and unsuitable imposts, together with the reasonable fear of their increase, are the main causes of this universal dissatisfaction.

You will see in the papers fresh illustrations of the iniquitous effects of leaving the home Government in the hands of the aristocracy, who send out to the colonies their dependents, to fill every profitable office, and oppress and ruin all around them. Ceylon has not even the *presence* of a representative legislative assembly. The Colonists have no control over the Governor and his Executive Council. There are, indeed, five *unofficial* members in the Legislative Council; but these are chosen by the Governor. They have no power to originate any question in the Council; and, even supposing they were *all* opposed to the officials, they are but a small minority. The Downing-street office, and especially Earl Grey, is always ready to sanction any ordinances passed here.

You will also see by the papers the hostility of the aristocracy to the freedom of the press in the colonies. The *Colombo Observer* is the only liberal and independent paper in Ceylon, and its influence and circulation are greater than all the other papers put together. Its proprietor and senior editor is a man of long residence in the island, of considerable wealth and talent, with a private character distinguished for benevolence and Christian virtues of every kind, and in his public duties singular for his honesty and independence, and, with all, he is a genuine Nonconformist of your school, and has given great proof of his sincerity in this respect by leaving the Church and joining himself publicly to the humblest Nonconformist body in the colony; although all his relatives at home were strict Church folk, and some of them clergymen; and although he had to give up the best medical practice in the colony, on account of his Dissent. Such a man as this at the head of a paper must be very obnoxious to the Government and the High Church party; and this is the secret of the attempt to put down the *Observer*. You will see also that the State-paid priests (especially the Rev. S. O. Gienie, who is the greatest bigot in the Colony) are the readiest tools to be employed in gagging the press. Although their names do not prominently appear, it is well known they are the springs of this movement. In this attempt, I am glad to say, they will certainly fail. There can never be civil, any more than religious, liberty in the Colonies while State-paid priests exist in them. There are a few of us here who heartily sympathize with you in your noble advocacy of the true principles of civil and religious liberty, and earnestly wish you the largest success.

"Our postscript will this week be found in page 780,

REPRESENTATION OF LYNN.—We are requested to state that Mr. G. F. Young, late Member for Tynemouth, has been requested to offer himself as a candidate to fill the vacancy in the representation of King's Lynn, caused by the death of the late Lord George Bentinck. The application to Mr. Young has been made by merchants, shipowners, and others, who are averse to the repeal of the Navigation-laws. We are also informed that the entire interest of the Duke of Portland will be given to Mr. Young upon the ensuing election.—*Times*.

THE CAMP AT EVERTON has been finally broken up; some of the troops being now quartered in Liverpool, others marched elsewhere.

THE TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION are 26s. per annum; 13s. for the half-year; and 6s. 6d. per quarter.

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#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Glaswegian." His suggestion shall be attended to. "A Constant Reader." We cannot pretend to give an opinion.

"W. C." The Report of the Select Committee on the Estimates, and all Parliamentary papers, may be obtained at the Turnstile, Holborn; of Spottiswoode and Co., printers; or through any bookseller.

"Philo," declined.

"J. M. M." will find his suggestion complied with. We have received several letters in reference to the respective claims of the British and Foreign Sailors' and Seaman's Christian Friend Societies, but decline publishing any of them. The columns of a newspaper are not a suitable medium for carrying on such controversies.

The communication from Edinburgh, on the Annuity tax, came too late for insertion this week.

## The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, OCT. 11, 1848.

#### SUMMARY.

THE British Anti-state-church Association commenced their campaign for the present season, on Wednesday last, by a public meeting held in Finsbury Chapel. In the absence of Dr. Price, the Treasurer, Mr. E. Miall was called to the chair. The Association have no reason to complain of any diminution in the interest taken in their proceedings by a large portion of the public. The spacious edifice was crammed to the ceiling by a highly respectable and intelligent audience, made up, for the most part, of men. The speaking was able and effective, and the spirit of the meeting animated and enthusiastic. Of course, the topic most prominently put forward, was the contemplated endowment of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood—and a resolution on that subject, similar in substance to those of the Executive Committee advertised in our columns last week, was adopted by the Assembly. But it was explained by the Chairman that the plan for enlightening and inciting the public mind on the subject of Church Establishments, of which the meeting in Finsbury Chapel was a sort of inauguration, had been determined upon quite irrespectively of the new aspect which the intentions of the Whigs have given to the question. To undo the past, as well as prevent the future, is the business of the Association—a business which they hold themselves bound to pursue with steady and untiring effort, whether politicians meddle with the ecclesiastical *status quo*, or leave it untouched. And the time is favourable for successful exertion in this sphere of patriotic labour. What is passing on the Continent, what is being done in our colonies, and what is designed for Ireland, equally prepare the thoughtful of all religious sects for a serious reconsideration of the relations proper to be sustained by the State to the Church. It becomes clearer every month, that the Association was not constituted, nor did it enter upon its arduous, but really beneficent enterprise, a single hour too soon. Dissenters of all shades of opinion are beginning at length to admit this. Some, with manly candour, have openly joined the ranks from which they once stood completely aloof—others are evidently hesitating—and soon but few Nonconformists will be left to boast to the world that, from its birth, they have been opposed to the existence, and to the labours, of the British Anti-state-church Association.

Judging from the announcements which have been made on the subject, the Dissenters of Scotland are girding themselves in earnest for the coming conflict, and for an energetic promulgation of their principles north of the Tweed. The Scottish Anti-state-church Association is about to take the field, and we trust it will emulate the zeal and obtain the success of the almost forgotten voluntary movement of other days. At the present moment an agitation of this character in Scotland is especially important. Whatever may be the sentiments of the laity, and even a portion of the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland, it is evident that the leaders are in favour of a temporizing policy in reference to the general

question of endowments. Dr. Candlish and his friends have a great horror of committing themselves, although in following out this policy they are apt to play fast and loose with great principles. In another column we have given a summary of a significant discussion in the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh on the endowment question. Mr. M. Stuart wished, prior to entering upon the agitation against Roman Catholic endowment, to repudiate Free Church endowment. The motion was not even seconded! Dr. Candlish, who in 1847 had declared that he would refuse Church endowment, and on a subsequent occasion declared that "he would not commit himself" on the question, deprecated "the raising up of nice questions of casuistry" at the present time, and so the matter was disposed of. There is evidently plenty of work for the Scottish Anti-state-church Association to undertake. Elsewhere we have given an extract from the *Dublin Evening Post*, the semi-official organ of the Irish Government, which gives further confirmation, if that were needed, of the intention of the Whigs to propose, as soon as practicable, the endowment of the Irish Catholic clergy.

The death of the venerable Earl of Carlisle, and the consequent elevation of Lord Morpeth to the House of Peers, creates a vacancy in the representation of the West Riding of Yorkshire. On several occasions it has fallen to the lot of this great constituency to influence, if not to decide by their single vote, some of the most important questions of the day. Another such juncture has arrived, and another such occasion for the vindication of a great principle presents itself. Will not the Dissenters of the West Riding, regardless of prejudice or predilection, seize the occasion thus apparently opened by Providence, to declare before the world, and in the face of the Whig aristocracy, their resolute abhorrence of that policy which aims to make religion the tool of statecraft, and to govern Ireland by bribery instead of justice? We trust they will act worthy of the occasion. The opportunity is not less favourable for pronouncing a verdict upon those great political questions which now agitate the country. Seldom has an occasion offered when a hearty union of the friends of free religion, free trade, and political reform, was likely to be followed by such important results upon the well-being of the nation.

The trial of Mr. Smith O'Brien for high treason has resulted, as was to be expected, in his conviction. The jury were unanimous in their verdict, but accompanied it with a strong recommendation of the prisoner to the merciful consideration of Government. Sentence of death was pronounced on Monday, but there is no doubt it will be commuted. Our comments upon this deeply-interesting trial will be found below.

At length the dreaded scourge of Eastern climes has reached our island. The cases of decided Asiatic cholera have, as yet, been few. Its victims have been amongst the infirm and the intemperate. Happily, we are much better prepared to meet the visitation than when it last appeared amongst us. It is now fully established that the cholera is not contagious; and that, with prudent sanitary precautions, personal cleanliness, plain and wholesome diet, prompt attention to its premonitory symptoms, and by the maintenance of a tranquil state of mind, there is no cause for alarm. "Formidable as this malady is in its intense form and developed stage" (to quote the notification of the Board of Health), "there is no disease against which it is in our power to take such effectual precaution, both as collective communities and private individuals, by vigilant attention to it in its first or premonitory stage, and by the removal of those agencies which are known to promote the spread of all epidemic diseases."

The French National Assembly are making some progress with the new constitution. During the past week they have adopted, almost without discussion, three of the six points of the much-abused "People's Charter" of this country—viz., universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and payment of members. The exercise of the franchise is, however, accompanied with such conditions as to practically exclude a large proportion of the agricultural population; or at least so many obstacles are offered, that the peasantry are not likely to any great extent to avail themselves of the privilege. Unhappily the fatal system of centralization, which has been so disastrously developed in France for the last half century, is still permitted to govern the legislation of the National Assembly, and threatens to impair the beneficial working of the new constitution. On Saturday the important debate upon the election of the President of the Republic was brought to a close. An overwhelming majority voted in favour of the election by universal suffrage in preference to the Ministerial scheme for the appointment of the President by the Assembly. The debate was scarcely worthy of the occasion. With the exception of Lamartine the leading members of the Assembly abstained from expressing their opinions, and it is remarkable that no eminent Cabinet minister should have supported by his voice the scheme which they approved. Lamartine's splendid

address, instinct with those great and noble principles which are so rarely advocated by statesmen, and still more rarely relied upon in their government of nations, produced a powerful impression, and contributed not a little to the final decision of the question. It is gratifying to observe the reviving popularity of this truly great statesman, because it is a proof that the French nation have not lost their appreciation of true nobility of character. The National Assembly have still to decide when the election of the President is to take place. From present appearances this event is not likely to take place until the whole of the constitution is voted. This delay will probably prove beneficial, as it will afford time to the nation to form a deliberate judgment of the merits of the several candidates for that distinguished office.

From Germany the only intelligence of moment is the refusal of the King of Prussia, contrary to the advice of his National Assembly, to comply with the order of the Central Government to recall his ambassadors at foreign courts. There can be little doubt that Frederick William will once more be obliged to succumb to the exigencies of his position. He is playing both a foolish and a losing game. He is reaping the bitter fruit of his own inconsistency and selfishness.

The Anglo-Gallic mediation for the settlement of the affairs of Northern Italy may be considered as terminated, although no formal announcement to that effect has yet been made. Austria absolutely refuses to surrender any portion of her Italian dominions, or even to grant them a provincial independence. It is manifest, however, that the question is not so easily settled. The ultimate decision probably depends more upon the issue of the civil war in Hungary than upon the negotiations of diplomatists, and as yet it is uncertain what turn events may take in that distracted country. With the Magyars it is become a war for existence—hence the desperate energy and savage barbarity they have lately shown in prosecuting the struggle. The discovery of the atrocious plot concocted between the Emperor and the Ban of Croatia, for the effectual extinction of their independence, will go far to account for the murder of the Imperial Commissioner in the streets of Pesth. It is impossible at present to unravel the guilty intrigues which have been carried on between the secret advisers of the feeble Emperor and the Croatian chieftain, but there can be little doubt that their ultimate object was to restore the reign of military despotism not only in Hungary, but throughout the empire. The Emperor is sedulously teaching his subjects that the position he holds is incompatible with the maintenance of constitutional freedom.

#### SMITH O'BRIEN.

WHAT may be the verdict of the jury in this case, or whether, if given, it will be known to the British public before the issue of the present number of the *Nonconformist*, we are unable, at the time of writing the remarks that follow, to do more than hazard a conjecture. We do not regret this. We are anxious to form and to utter our judgment of Mr. Smith O'Brien's late proceedings, guided solely by the evidence put forward at his trial. The opening statement of the Irish Attorney-General, the examination of witnesses on both sides, and the speech of Mr. Whiteside in defence of his client, are before us. In order to an impartial decision, these are all the materials we need. The summing up of the bench is as likely to warp, as to assist, common-sense—and the verdict, whatever it be, will not affect the conclusion to which we have already been conducted. We proceed, therefore, to comment upon the facts before us, without bias, and without hesitation—and if, which is quite possible, in Ireland especially, the termination of the case be such as to baffle our anticipations, we are not aware that the event will place us under obligation to retract a single sentence.

The speech of Mr. Whiteside, in defence of the accused, is, unquestionably, a magnificent display of forensic eloquence. Adopting the theory that every overt act of Smith O'Brien deposed to by the witnesses of the Crown, and interpreted by the Attorney-General as proof of treasonable intent, may be accounted for most naturally on the supposition that he was merely intent upon protecting himself against arrest, Mr. Whiteside went through the entire mass of evidence, making every circumstance tell in favour of this view of the case. The utter and ridiculous failure of the long talked-of, and loudly threatened, rebellion, lends an air of probability to the hypothesis. It may even be substantially correct—for it appears certain that the promptitude of Government so entirely overset the plans of the Confederacy, that before a single blow could be struck the conspirators were compelled to substitute for a great national rebellion the personal escape of those who aspired to conduct it. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* came upon them by surprise, forestalled their preparations, deranged their plans, converted leaders into fugitives, and altered the whole plot of the anti-

pated drama. From that moment, we doubt not, escape from arrest, rather than a sanguinary revolution, became Smith O'Brien's dominant motive. His acts, subsequent to this event, admit of no other reasonable interpretation. Pounced upon with a promptitude which it is evident he did not foresee, the only use to which opportunity permitted him to turn his preparations was the parrying the constable's staff, in place of overthrowing the throne of Victoria.

Respecting the substantial guilt of O'Brien and his accomplices, we cannot entertain a moment's doubt. They took no pains to conceal their object. They literally "breathed out threatenings and slaughter." The deputation to Paris, the atrocious recommendations of the rebel press, the language held at the clubs, the organization, arming, and reviewing of repealers, leave us in no uncertainty on this head. The precise time for an outbreak was the only matter not definitely determined upon. Had Smith O'Brien matured his arrangements sufficiently early, the conviction of Mitchel would, no doubt, have been the signal for a general insurrection. It was thought necessary to success, however, that the harvest should be gathered in before the enemy was defied. But civil war was unquestionably the chosen means by which Ireland's emancipation from British rule was to have been effected.

Believing, then, as we do, that the verdict of the jury, if given in conformity with the evidence, must pronounce Smith O'Brien guilty of high treason, the first emotion to which we feel ourselves compelled to give utterance is one of pity. In case of conviction, the position of the prisoner will be an awful one. Whether the extreme penalty be carried into execution, or commuted for that of transportation, it is impossible to see a fellow-creature exposed to such a dreadful alternative without a thrill of commiseration. A man of education, refinement, rank, and wealth—a husband and a father—a cherished member of a wide circle of relatives and friends—led away by the seductive influences of personal vanity, and suddenly inflamed into madness by the success of violent revolutions elsewhere, plunges into the vortex of rebellion, and after a series of the most humiliating disappointments, is dragged forth a felon—his life forfeited, his property escheated, his family degraded, his warm interest in the scenes of this world struck dead for ever. Who can witness such a reverse without profound sorrow—or whilst condemning the crime, refrain from dropping a tear over the direful consequences to which it has conducted its unhappy victim?

But the tears of pity must not blind us to the magnitude of the offence. Civil war was deliberately decided upon, coolly planned, and only frustrated by unforeseen promptitude on the part of the Executive. Civil war! Which of our readers can sum up the horrors, the cruelties, the disruption of family ties, the terrible demoralization, the wholesale death, which it involves? Terminate as it might, it is a price to pay for political changes to which true patriotism can never give its assent. But in Smith O'Brien's case, the object aimed at was most despicable. His was to have been a war of races, not of principles—a struggle amid fire and blood, for a phantom which, when gained, would have imparted no substantial benefit to the Irish people, would scarcely have enlarged their freedom, would not have elevated their material condition, and would merely have given them a change in the form of their Government, and in the persons conducting it. Ireland's pathway to greatness lies not through the battle-field, but through that of a free soil and persevering industry.

Late events have held up to all an emphatic warning of the danger of playing with popular passions. The late Daniel O'Connell must be held responsible for much of the disorder which has arisen in his country since the close of his career. Long before his death, we pointed out what must needs be the result of his habitual practice of stirring up Celt against Saxon, and leading on his people to the verge of insurrection. The demon which he had conjured up for his own purposes, grew at last into a strength which even he could no longer manage. At his departure from the scene, Smith O'Brien took the command, and was hurried by the passions which O'Connell had evoked into desperation. Such is the invariable result of a deviation from the path of moral agitation for political objects. He who lights up the fire of popular fury, kindles a flame which, in all probability, he will never be able to quench. However good our object, the employment of bad means for its attainment is unjustifiable—and what was begun with good intentions, pursued by other methods than those of reason and persuasion, insensibly leads on to crime, conviction, and despair.

#### "SATAN REPROVING SIN."

"THANK God! the Whigs are in office and not in opposition," was the devout exclamation of Conservative writers and senators when intelligence of the Revolution of February reached this country. As a mere party fling this was "not

bad;" but the public were not at the time acquainted with all the facts which gave point and sting to the sarcasm. But the truth is at last out. Rumour has for once proved a veritable oracle; and though we have lost the spectacle of a Premier in the witness-box, the trial of Smith O'Brien has, indirectly, brought to light one of the most startling and damning incidents in the political history of the present century.

The publication of Mr. Young's letter to General Napier, establishes, beyond all doubt, that some of the principal members and supporters of the Government who are now vigorously punishing the advocates of physical force in England and Ireland, were themselves, during the Reform agitation of 1832, actively engaged in organizing a popular insurrection! From the pen of Lord Melbourne's own Secretary, we learn that "in the event of a fight," General (then Colonel) Napier was to be invited to take the command at Birmingham—that "a run upon the banks, and the barricading of the populous country towns," were resolved upon with a view to "bringing matters to a crisis," and "finishing the business in a week"—that "there was to be such an agitation in London, that no soldiers could have been spared;" "the army being too small elsewhere to have put down the rebels"—that Scotland was looked to as likely to strike "the most effective blow," and that it was expected that "public enthusiasm" would have been so universal, that it "would have carried all before it." All this is communicated to an officer in her Majesty's army as a programme of what would have occurred had the supposed necessity arisen; and the writer, though he piously "thanks God that we have been spared the trial," exhibits no more sense of the enormity of the conspiracy than is implied in his recognition of the difficulty of "bringing back society to its former quiet state!" had it been successful. With all the phlegm of a philosopher he invites the Colonel to speculate on "what would have happened," and whether "he is right in the conjecture" that the gallant officer "would have refused the Birmingham invite, and kept the sword in its scabbard?" adding, in a spirit of cold-blooded calculation, "It is not well to enter early into revolutions: the first fall victims!"

Lawyers may succeed in putting such a document out of court, if tendered as evidence of the treasonable designs of the Whigs, but no special pleading will disturb the instinctive conviction of the public mind. Issuing from the Home-office—bearing on its seal the emblazonry of the Crown—written by the confidant of the Home Secretary, who himself furnished the frank which was to cover Colonel Napier's commission in the rebel army; it would be an outrage on common sense to suggest any other inference from the letter in question than that the Ministry of the day—themselves the sworn guardians of the public peace—were, in the persons of some at least of their number, committed to the desperate enterprise of a rebellion for the purpose of carrying "the Bill!"

We have now something like a clue to the recent policy of the Whigs. Simple men marvelled at their enormous military preparations on the 10th of April for holding in check an unarmed and undisciplined mob; but

"Conscience makes cowards of all."

They had been sowing dragon's teeth, and feared the gathering of the tardy crop. Recollecting the lengths of criminality to which they had been themselves prepared to go, they naturally enough adopted repressive measures of corresponding magnitude. Both in England and in Ireland they have proved themselves to be adepts at treason; and in their coercion acts and gagging bills, police drilling and spy-hiring, have turned to a ready account their reminiscences of '32. But what now becomes of the moral effect of their demonstrations, or of the "dignified" vindication of the law in the persons of the culprits? And will not every Chartist, Repealer, and Confederate now immured in a gaol, or expiating his offence in the hulks, or the penal settlements, set up a yell of indignant satisfaction at the retribution which has overtaken his prosecutors, and look on himself as but a martyr in a righteous cause?

The exposure of the Whigs—so often denounced by O'Connell as "the base, bloody, and brutal Whigs"—is an event which occasions us but little concern, but we fear its disastrous effects in destroying all faith in the virtue of public men, and in giving a seeming countenance to the irrational fears, real or affected, of the opponents of Reform in the present day.

The Reform Bill was a necessary measure, and its enactment matter for satisfaction; but we will not conceal our disapproval of *some* of the acts of its supporters. As we have expressed abhorrence of recent attempts to compass political ends by wickedly plotting the destruction of human life, so we will not shrink from the retrospective application of similar sentiments. We desire, as ardently as any, the enfranchisement of the people, and the repeal of unrighteous laws; but we regard

the attainment of those objects by the adoption of violent measures as the payment of too ruinous a price. Physical force, however apparently adapted to present exigencies, will, in the long run, be found to be as dangerous an instrument to those who wield it as to those against whom it may be directed. This the Whigs will now find out, to their cost. Sixteen years may have banished from their minds all fear of consequences; but, at a moment the most inopportune, the reed has pierced the hands that held it. They have struck down O'Brien, but in his political ruin their own has been effected also.

#### STATE OF FRANCE AND ITS CAPITAL.

THE following letter from a keen and experienced observer, in whose veracity we can place the most implicit confidence, will, no doubt, be perused with interest at the present moment:—

"Paris, October 9, 1848.

"I had read so much in the newspapers of the social disorganization of France, since the revolution in February, that I determined to avail myself of the opportunity of a business journey to collect such facts as would enable me to test the accuracy of the accounts, so industriously published from day to day by the leading English journals; and as I know the great interest taken by the readers of the *Nonconformist* in French politics, I venture to obtrude upon your columns. Your readers must bear in mind, that while I am anxious to 'extenuate nought, or set down aught in malice,' established governments are not to be swept away, and trampled under foot with impunity,—no state of society can do this without suffering. It is the amount of suffering I am anxious about, together with the signs and symptoms of the re-establishment of order,—not the order of bayonets and countersigns, but the order of a free people, confident in the stability of their institutions.

"The first shock my preconceived notions received was in the number of persons I found arrived by the rail at Folkestone for the Boulogne packet: I crossed over with 110 passengers. On inquiry, I found that the two packet-boats a day, seven days a week, had been averaging 80 persons each voyage from England—so much for *Mister Punch's* caricature of the six hotel waiters seizing on the one Englishman, that had arrived in France.

"Boulogne is rather an English watering-place than a French town. Such has been the increase of the English residents within the last five years, that a large population has been drawn into the town from the surrounding districts, so that, when the news arrived in Boulogne of the February revolution, and the panic which followed, there was, as a matter of course, great suffering among the poorer classes. Several of the flax mills were closed, and I can well understand how an English reporter for the press, arriving in that town during March, or even April, would send home rather gloomy accounts; but for some time past the mills have been in full work, and, as my account of the number of passengers by the steam-boats shows, the English residents have returned; all that class of butterfly idlers that live on the sea shore are returning; and although we must not, to use the fashionable phrase, describe Boulogne as full, it presents a cheerful aspect as ever.

"One great sheet anchor of hope and thankfulness, is in the extraordinary abundance of the harvest throughout the length and breadth of this land. I have the authority of a considerable landed proprietor at Clarendon, in saying that France has not been blessed with so general an abundance for many years. I do not remember having seen this mentioned in any of the public journals, important as it must be at this moment.

"The whole talk of the cafés, in omnibus or in rail, is the splendid speech of De Lamartine on the presidential question. The general feeling is, that the question is settled, and that France will elect her President by universal suffrage. It would be idle to form any opinion as to the real state of Paris by any of its outward phases—the weather is fine, consequently the Boulevards are as thronged and the cafés as noisy as they ever were. Of the real state of trade I have had at present no means of judging; but as my connexion lies among some of the leading politicians of Paris, if this communication meets your approval, I may trouble you with another more exclusively on Paris, and the commercial prospects of that capital.

"I have been accustomed to visit France at intervals since 1822; I have seen it under the rule of Louis XVIII., of Charles X., and under the dynasty of Louis Philippe. During the reign of the first, travelling in France was a perfect turmoil, every town was a citadel, and the whole country was spread over with a net-work of bayonets; so with Charles X., with the difference only of a few sleek-looking priests mixed with the gendarmes; with Louis Philippe the soldier police of France, although equally numerous, were less obtrusive; you could walk the public thoroughfares without being jostled by a gendarme. Things are different now. There's no lack of military, there's no lack of police, there's an abundance of gendarmes scattered over the public places; but the bearing of the men is different

it is not that of obsequiousness, but they have the appearance of men who mean to preserve the peace, who can afford to be courteous to their fellow-countrymen, and who make it an especial duty to be courteous to strangers.

"I shall be satisfied if I can only induce that class of your readers that have regarded the events of this year in France with fear and trembling, to look at them a little more hopefully, and not to suffer themselves to be entirely influenced by the English press. There never was a period in history when the press was so omnipotent, and there never was a period when its whole power seemed bent upon misrepresentations; there are good and substantial grounds for every lover of his fellow-man to rely on, that this revolution of 1848 will secure to France a sound government, and will try for Europe the experiment of a National Council elected by the universal voice of the people.

AN ENGLISH TRAVELLER.

### SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

#### AN EUROPEAN CONGRESS.

(From the *Spectator*.)

The rumours of a Congress still continue; and although we do not attach so wide a meaning to the phrase, "general pacification," in the diplomatic correspondence on Sicily, the disposition to interpose is as apparent in some quarters as the need for it is in others. We still hold that a "Congress of the Powers of Europe" would be difficult, from the difficulty of finding any established powers in some important parts of Europe; and we doubt whether there is abroad such a spirit of originality and realism in statesmanship as to reconcile the official mind to one sort of Congress which might be possible. It is evident that a gathering after the fashion of 1815 would be useless: a Congress of agents appointed either by the Princes of Europe or by the present Governments *de facto*, would be as unsatisfactory to the nations as a Congress of agents appointed by universal suffrage would be to some of the surviving powers; and the decrees emanating from either kind would meet with very partial respect. But the events which are passing before our eyes do suggest one sort of Congress which might be possible and useful.

France and England have come to an accord, and are mediating together, at Naples and in the North of Italy—two separate acts of mediation, and not to be confounded because they may both be included in the geographical expression, "Italy;" they are mediating concurrently, though not jointly, in Schleswig Holstein; and their mediation is as probable in other quarters. In Sicily, although with great moderation, they have backed their intervention by significant allusions to their marine forces. These are the facts. Now if France and England had substituted one act of intervention for these several acts—if, as it were, they had consolidated these scattered proceedings—the moral effect would have been proportionately enhanced, without the two states being committed any further than they are. Suppose, for example, that they had sent commissioners to some town in a strictly neutral country, like Belgium; and, instead of treating such case severally and topically, had declared the plan upon which they meant to treat all such cases, the principle upon which they would, if driven to it, employ that armed force which they are now employing *pro re natu*: under such an arrangement, it is evident that their acts would have committed them no further than they are already, but that their position would be so much more intelligible, as to supersede, by anticipating, many diplomatic transactions.

But such a meeting of plenipotentiaries from the two leading countries might become the nucleus, not of a Congress from all the powers to impose new arrangements on Europe, but of such powers as did concur, to consult, report, and advise on the reorganization of Europe. Many inducements would bring recruits to a Congress of that nature. Governments concurring in the main objects—such governments as are not directly implicated in revolution, and yet desire a restoration of peace and order—would be very likely to send their agents: we should expect, for example, to see the agents of Belgium, Holland, and Sweden. Governments desirous of recognition would appear—such as Tuscany, Spain, or the Central Government of "Germany;" governments desirous of support might also ask admission—such as those of Sardinia and Prussia. But as the conclave would not be a lawgiving council, but a consulting body, it would be quite possible, as it would be most desirable, to make it include a real representation of the nations: it would lie within the discretion of its members at any time assembled to admit representatives, not less from the princes of Europe as such, or from governments in a state of political unsettlement, than from the governments *de facto*. For one example out of many, the house of Hapsburg might be there, and the Slavonians of the Empire, as well as the *de facto* Government of Vienna. And it would be equally feasible to reject improper claimants for admission; since it would be of essential importance to admit none but men manifestly possessing the full confidence of their clients—not mere diplomatists, but wise men, capable of representing a broad national feeling, and of treating affairs, not according to their forms, but according to their realities; such men as D'Azeleglio for Italy, Peel or Clarendon for England, Leo Thun for Slavonia.

The declaration of a determinate policy by such a council could not fail to exercise the greatest moral

influence. By telling governments and nations what to expect, it would teach them what to avoid, and might prevent many tentative movements. It would explode great national humbugs, like the Russo-Slavonian humbug; and would give body to realities, like the suspended Slavonian movement of Prague. It would teach princes and peoples what they must accept, what they might refuse. It would impart body, by imparting unity, to a thing which has almost lost its existence in the confusion—a public opinion of Europe. It would supply a great moral strength to the moderate and practical section of each nation, recruiting it with the number of wavering, and encouraging it to be firm, active, and consistent. If there are not "the powers of Europe" to appoint a lawgiving Congress for reorganizing Europe, such a council might create the powers needful to that ulterior step.

#### FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONAL SOCIETY.

(From the *Leeds Mercury*.)

The negotiation which has been proceeding for some months between the Committee of the National Society, represented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Committee of Council on Education, as to the terms on which the National Society will recommend the receiving of Government money for building and maintaining Church Schools, has failed. The Committee of Council made many concessions; but one demand on the part of the National Society, presented as a *sine qua non*, in obedience to the strong *episcopal* bent of its constituents, has been finally negatived. The two bodies, therefore, remain at arm's length; and the National Society is said to have convoked a meeting of the Bishops and its constituents for November, to decide whether they shall yield the point in dispute, or shall cease to receive Government grants for their schools.

The disputed point is this. The National Society claim that, in the management clauses inserted in the trust-deeds of the Church schools aided by public money, it shall be provided that, in case of dispute as to the dismissal of a schoolmaster or mistress, or other similar point, the committee and friends of the school may, if they think fit, appeal to the decision of the *Bishop* of the diocese. This appeal to the Bishop in all cases relative to *religious teaching* had been conceded by the Committee of Council: but in regard to these secular matters, the Committee demand that disputes shall be referred to three persons, of whom one is to be an inspector of Church schools (of course nominated, according to the Order in Council of 10th August, 1840, by the Council, with the concurrence of the Archbishop of the province), a second to be nominated by the Bishop of the diocese from among his clergy, and the third to be appointed by those two arbitrators, or, in case of their non-agreement, by the President of the Council and the Archbishop of the province conjointly. It might have been supposed that here was sufficient security for *episcopal* influence. But the constituents of the National Society think otherwise; and they require absolutely that, if the local school committee think proper, they should make their appeal to the *Bishop alone*, instead of the three arbitrators. The following are the terms of their ultimatum:—

They must, however, urge earnestly on the Committee of Council the re-consideration of that mode of appeal which was suggested to them in their last letter, as an alternative in certain cases, and in the refusal of which they find it impossible to acquiesce. They think that a body of Churchmen asking the aid of the State towards the erection of a Church school, should not be refused assistance if they should desire to refer to the arbitration of the bishop of the diocese other questions of difference arising among the managers than those which directly concern religious instruction.

The final reply of the Committee of Council thus concludes:—

On the question of appeal on any subject not relating to the religious instruction of the school, their Lordships have already stated their opinion, that in schools which receive aid from the State, this appeal can only be satisfactorily provided for by arrangements which confide the appellate power to persons representing both the civil and religious authorities.

Their lordships are of opinion that the broadest distinction exists between schools which owe their origin solely to private benefactors, and schools the establishment of which is largely aided by the State, and which must also, to a great extent, depend for their efficiency, if not for their existence, on annual assistance from the public resources.

On these grounds their lordships must finally declare that they cannot consent to permit the permanent constitution of the school, in so important a matter as the establishment of an appeal to the bishop of the diocese in matters not relating to religious instruction, to be determined by the local subscribers to schools, to the establishment and support of which it is now provided that the State should so largely contribute.

This threatening disagreement is instructive to both parties. To the Church it shows, that if it would receive Government money, it must submit to more or less of Government control. To the Committee of Council it shows, that the Church will be a most troublesome partner.

The Committee of the National Society express over and over again their belief that *liberty* is essential to the calling forth of *voluntary liberality*. They thus explain their own past policy as to interference:—

The National Society has always abstained, as much as possible, from interfering with the discretion of the local founders and supporters of schools. Its terms of union were not intended to require any one specific

constitution or form of management, but were limited to requiring such provisions as appeared absolutely necessary to give any school a claim to be regarded as a Church of England school. The National Society has acted herein under the conviction that, while effectual provision may be made, by proper arrangement in trust deeds, for the legal security of the property, the co-operation of the laity will be most effectually secured, by imposing as few restrictions as possible on the liberty of local founders and subscribers in regard to the constitution of their schools.

And again,—

The Committee of the National Society assure the Committee of Council on Education that they are doing no more than a correspondence with the laity, as well as with the clergy, convinces them to be necessary, in order to retain that co-operation in founding and supporting schools without which the cause of education throughout the country cannot successfully proceed.

We have always felt that the interference of the Government would necessarily produce so many restrictions, formalities, &c., as would offend or discourage voluntary zeal. It is evident the National Society are deeply fearful of this tendency. But they want two incompatible things, namely, dependence and independence,—public money without public control. Government offers them a golden chain, and they would fain take the gold but not the links. The Church wants the Government to be its tributary, not its master; and the Government cannot for shame, nor for the fear of the House of Commons, wholly and avowedly give up its control over public beneficiaries.

How the quarrel will be settled we know not. It may perhaps be patched up in some way. But we hope the nation will remark the tendency of Government interference with Education to fetter, and thereby to strangle voluntary effort. The present position is not tenable; things tend either to put Education entirely under the Government, or to make it entirely free. If Government persists in making grants and imposing restrictions, it will doubly impair voluntary exertion: therefore such exertion will decline, and Government must grant and interfere more and more. The best course would be to withdraw both their grants and their conditions. They may rely upon it, the people are quite able and willing to educate themselves.

As to the demand of the National Society, we think it unreasonable so long as it seeks aid from the Government. But let it renounce the aid, and it may appeal to the bishops as often as it pleases. A church which would be self-governed must be self-supported.

**LORD GEORGE BENTINCK AND SIR ROBERT PEEL.**—During the first four years of Sir Robert Peel's administration, Lord George Bentinck was never absent from his post: awake or asleep there he invariably sat, from the meeting of the House till its rising, generally occupying the same seat on the back benches on the Ministerial side of the House. At this time Lord George was very eager in his pursuit of the chase, and kept a large stud of hounds in the neighbourhood of Andover, for the purpose of hunting with Mr. Ashton Smith's celebrated pack of foxhounds. He was always considered a very hard rider, and his custom was, after the latest debates in the House, to rise at six, and be off by the seven o'clock train, have a long day's hunting, and return again by the South-Western Railway direct to the House of Commons, throw a light-coloured blouse or zephyr over his scarlet coat, and fully accoutred in leathers and tops, thus enter the House, take his seat, and sit out another long debate. Many a joke there used to be amongst the members on seeing the red collar of his coat peeping from under his surtout. He was, perhaps, the only member ever seen of late years in the House of Commons in a scarlet hunting coat. Often, on these occasions, has Sir Thomas Fremantle, then Secretary to the Treasury, been heard to say, to even official members, "Ah, I wish you gentlemen would take example from George Bentinck; look at him; his attendance is worth all yours put together; and he is independent of us, whereas you are placemen." Constantly, too, would Lord George good humouredly rate his official friends whenever he caught them coming in too late for a division.—*John Bull*.

**THE CURRENCY QUESTION.**—We have the best reason for knowing that many of the most influential members of the Anti-corn-law League are now profoundly studying the money laws of 1819 and 1844, and that several have already made up their minds to assail and conquer the bullionists. The eagerness with which the public have purchased the Parliamentary reports on the causes of distress, which have been twice out of print since their first publication, proves the deep interest taken in the question; and as these Reports are dear and voluminous, it is obvious that those who bought them belong to the middle and electoral class.—*Jerome's Newspaper*.

**CITY OF LONDON AND ITS REPRESENTATIVE.**—In No. 25 of the "Voice," we noticed that a deputation from the City of London had waited on Lord John Russell with reference to the Jewish Disabilities. We have since heard that in reply, Lord John Russell stated that the subject should receive his earliest attention, in the next session, that is, immediately after some measures affecting Ireland, which must have precedence.—*Anglo-Jewish Magazine*.

**EMBEZZLEMENT IN THE POST-OFFICE.**—Mr. Shepherd, managing clerk in the money-order department of the Derby post-office, has been detected in embezzling, apparently by entering more money as paid by him, than he had actually disbursed. It has been found that Shepherd has used £150 of the public funds. The prisoner was considered very trustworthy; he had been a draper in a large way at Derby, and an active Wesleyan.

## IRELAND.

## THE STATE TRIALS.

We resume our narrative of the trial of Mr. O'Brien for high treason before the special Commission at Clonmel from the point to which it was brought down in our last number.

Tuesday was occupied by the evidence of Lampier and Cullen, two servants of the Mining Company of Ireland at Ballingarry; and the evidence of Inspectors Trant and Cox and their men, concerning the attack on Widow McCormack's house.

Captain Thomas Trant's characteristics are thus sketched:—

He is a grey-haired elderly man, with a bold determined bearing; and his evidence was given with rapidity and clearness: he was listened to with the most marked attention, both by the bar and the audience.

His evidence added nothing new to what has already appeared about the marching of his forty-six men, and their taking possession of Widow McCormack's house. He described a parley with a rebel officer:—

I was proceeding up-stairs, in order to see what arrangements they were making to strengthen the upper rooms, when I heard a voice from the rear call for the officer. I went to the lobby-window to the man who wanted me. He was unarmed. He put up his hands and said to me, "For God's sake, let there be no firing! We want to make peace." I replied, "If the people do not fire, we shall not fire; but if a shot is fired from the outside, we shall fire as long as a cartridge or a man remains." Nothing further was said by the man out side. The voice to which I allude said, "Tell Mr. Trant, Mr. O'Brien is here!" It was called to me by one of my own party. I came down and went to the window, where I was informed Mr. O'Brien had been; but he had disappeared. I went back up-stairs again; and was again called to, that Mr. O'Brien was there, and wished to see me. I replied, "If so, let him come round to the window." he would not do so. Immediately after that I heard a crash of stones and shots from without; the window was smashed. I instantly gave the order to fire, and the firing commenced. It continued about an hour from the time the first shot was fired."

He thought that some two hundred shots were fired from without; and he dealt out 230 round of cartridges to replace those fired by his men. Mr. Trant was subjected to a long cross-examination, with the seeming object of showing that his colouring of the affair was exaggerated.

The several policemen whom Mr. O'Brien addressed at the window were then examined.

Thomas Moran: "Knew Smith O'Brien. Saw him in the enclosure at the Widow McCormack's. He was leaning with his back to the wall between the gable and the window at which the police were stationed. After that, he came to the window, and said, 'We are all Irishmen, boys. I am Smith O'Brien, and as good a soldier as any of you.' He then demanded our arms. Witness said they would part with their lives before they gave up their arms. He seemed disappointed. He got off the window sill; and witness heard him say, 'Slash away, boys, and slaughter the whole of them.'"

Mr. O'Brien here exclaimed, with abrupt vehemence, "Don't you know you are swearing falsely when you swear that, Sir?"

Witness (turning round): "No, I do not, Sir." Examination continued: "How far was the prisoner from you when he said that?"

Mr. O'Brien: "Turn round, and let me see your face when you are swearing that—"

The Attorney-General (to the witness, who was about to obey the request): "Do not stir; sit down in your place."

[This brief incident created some sensation in the court.]

Cross-examination by Mr. Whiteside: "O'Brien came to the window and dashed in the shutter, so that he was fully exposed; and if either party had fired at the time, he must have been shot dead. He spoke civilly to the men. When refused the arms, he said, in a loud clear voice to the people, 'Slash away, and slaughter them all.' At that time there was a crowd of people around him, inside the wall, armed with blunderbusses. No shots were fired by the police at the time. Did not fire at Mr. O'Brien: if he had come before witness at the time, he would have shot him. Mr. O'Brien stood with one foot on the window-sill at the time. Witness's bayonet was within six inches of O'Brien's heart. At that time, would have shot a man six inches from him, even if unarmed."

Mr. Whiteside: "Why did you not shoot him?"

Witness: "Because I could not: because I did not hear him making use—" [here the witness stopped, and hesitated].

Mr. Whiteside, who had just sat down, started up and said, "Oh! you were about saying you did not hear the words Mr. O'Brien used?"

Witness became embarrassed, rubbed his head, and after a pause said, "No, I was not about saying so."

To the Jury: "Fired several times; fired at a man. Saw a man in the act of pelting stones, and fired at him. Had not time to fire at Mr. O'Brien—not though my bayonet was within six inches of his breast. O'Brien said the words in a loud voice. The other men might have heard them. Witness was nearest to the window."

Constable Arthur Robinson, and Head Constable McDonough, also swore to the use of the words, "Slash away, boys, and slaughter the whole of them." The latter heard them spoken, but was entering the room at the moment, and could not tell who was the speaker.

Constable Patrick Ford, who seems to have given evidence in a plain truthful manner, swore to different words, of very similar sound, if rapidly pronounced. "Slash away, boys—we will soon have them all," were the words Ford heard when Mr. O'Brien left the window. When Mr. O'Brien first asked for the arms, there was no answer: "He put in his hand as if to 'grab' the carbine. We then told him we had our officer to obey, and we would not give up our arms; he must go to the officer."

Constable Carroll and Sub-Inspector Cox added nothing of interest.

The main case of the Crown was completed with the evidence of these witnesses; but some additional evidence was given about the portmanteau. In the former evidence it was not shown how it got from Mrs. Doheny's possession to the custody of Inspector Cox. Michael Kennedy now gave these singular particulars. He was a boy in the service of Norton the builder, from whom Mr. Cox got the portmanteau:—

Recalled taking a portmanteau from a pawn-broker's named Littleton, to his master's, last August. Took it from a kiln used as a store in Littleton's garden. It was given to witness by Littleton's son. Took it originally with other furniture from Doheny's to the kiln. Gave it to Mr. Cox, strapped and locked in the same way as he had first seen it. The furniture was put in the kiln. Some parts of the furniture were taken elsewhere."

To the Lord Chief Justice: "First saw the portmanteau at Mrs. Doheny's."

Examination continued: "Saw it removed with some other furniture from her house. It was half a day in the kiln before it was removed to his master's house."

Cross-examined by Mr. Fitzgerald: "Other persons were employed in removing the furniture from Mrs. Doheny's. When the furniture was removed, the house was open to any one going in."

John Norton deposed, that he gave a portmanteau to Mr. Cox last August. "It came with furniture from Mrs. Doheny's to another place; and from that place had been carried to witness's house by his boy, Michael Kennedy. Did not know whose portmanteau it was at the time. It remained in his possession about four days."

Cross-examined: "Was a builder, living in Cashel. Did not know how the portmanteau came there. It lay during the time he had it in an open room to which every one had access. His boy gave it to Cox in the same state as he had received it."

There was considerable argument on the question whether the contents of the portmanteau were still enough connected with Mr. O'Brien at a time before his arrest. It was possible that the documents had been maliciously inserted since that time. The Court decided that they could not keep the documents from the jury.

Mr. Whiteside applied to have all the contents of the portmanteau submitted to the jury.

The Court: "We do not know what the contents were; we cannot make the order."

Mr. Whiteside: "The Under-Secretary of State pledged his word to return the contents, and broke it."

On a letter being put in, signed "P. Tyler," of Philadelphia, Mr. Whiteside repeated his objection, and was overruled.

Mr. O'Brien: "I think it right, in common justice to myself, to state that it is my habit to keep my unanswered letters in my pocket; and to make me answerable for all letters I have received, which I did not think worth an answer, would be most unjust."

After some further argument, the letter was read: it promised aid and money from America, and detailed the steps taken in Philadelphia for that purpose.

A very characteristic letter from Mr. Meagher was put in; and with a few other documents closed the case for the Crown. Mr. Meagher says:—

"This morning I arrived in Limerick, and received your letter. Just think of it. I forgot that this was Tuesday, and started off to Rathkeale, instead of stopping where I was (as your letter might have suggested, and I did, in fact, suggest), and made a flaming speech to the multitude from Mr. Fitzgibbon's window; after which, I galloped off to this fine old place (Cahirmoyle); finding out, when I was just a mile from the gate, that it was Wednesday, not Tuesday. However, I still persisted; and here I am. Well, then, I come to tell you about the American trip. I'm off for New York, God willing, on Saturday."

"O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,

My thoughts as boundless, and my soul as free."

What to do? To raise money—to invoke sympathy—to go and amuse myself. You will be delighted with the Cork organization. Be so good as to mention at the soiree on Monday night the object of my departure."

On Wednesday, before opening his case, Mr. Whiteside claimed judicial interference on a strange incident. He referred to the bundle of balloting-papers which had been produced to corroborate Dobbin's evidence on the reduction of the Confederate Council of War to five members: when that bundle was given in evidence, it consisted of twenty-one slips; but on receiving them last night for inspection, he found twenty-nine had been sent him. On the original slips, the name of the prisoner occurred but once, and then as erased; while the name of the Rev. Mr. Kenyon occurred eight times: in the present twenty-nine, the prisoner's name was found four times. Mr. Whiteside asserted these facts on his honour as a barrister. The Crown lawyers denied these statements, and were equally obstinate on their side. Chief Justice O'Doherty called attention to the fact that the name of the prisoner occurred four times on the very same slips bearing the name of Father Kenyon, though no more of the latter name appeared in the twenty-nine than at first in the twenty-one! The facts remained a mystery. At length, the Lord Chief Justice adjudged that the evidence must be taken as it stood on the Judges' notes—as if twenty-one slips only existed, and as if the name of the prisoner occurred only once and then erased.

MR. WHITESIDE'S ADDRESS FOR THE PRISONER.

Mr. Whiteside then addressed the jury in the prisoner's defence, for more than seven hours; even in that time not finishing, but obtained an adjournment until the next day. He first appealed to the judges and jury to cast aside the prejudice which he had already read in their minds. But he felt safe in their hands, and felt as satisfied as he could be of his existence that each and all of them would rejoice if he could convince them of the innocence of his client; and he avowed, openly and publicly, that whatever might be the result, "neither this maligned gentleman nor the humble counsel who addresses

you will ever breathe a word of objection to your decision." His complaints would lie in another quarter—against the laws which the judge and jury were instruments only to administer. Were Mr. Smith O'Brien so fortunate as to have been born an Englishman and been tried by English law, he would have known ten days before his trial the name of every juror on the panel; and have known the name of every witness that would be examined against him, with their titles, professions, and residences. But under the Irish law, a man could be placed on the table to swear away the life of a prisoner, though no human being could give the least suggestion as to who or what that man was, whence he came, or what had been his past life and character: such a man could give evidence impossible to be contradicted, yet as likely to destroy innocence as establish guilt. Mr. Whiteside then commented at great length on the law of the case, for the purpose of indicating that there might be limited armings and risings with objects felonious, but yet not treasonable,—and even extended insurrection and levying of war, yet falling short of treason; he went into an elaborate criticism of Mr. O'Brien's acts and speeches to show that it would be ludicrous to assume that he meditated the taking the Queen's life, as it would be against common sense to imply that he levied war to make the Queen change her measures; and he bent all his force of critical skill to prove that the whole object of Mr. O'Brien, after he heard warrants were out against him, was the avoidance of arrest; for his firm belief was that Lord Clarendon wished to hold him in prison for many months before his trial. Mr. Whiteside read the celebrated letter from Lord John Russell to Mr. Attwood, of Birmingham, written in 1831, to acknowledge a memorial presented by 150,000 working men, whom it was in contemplation to march upon London at the time of the Reform Bill excitement. Mr. Whiteside made this appeal to the jury—"Now, I will put it to the brave hearts of the jury, will they take away the life of Smith O'Brien because he expressed himself more temperately, more moderately, more discreetly, and more mildly than the men have done who placed my right hon. friend in the office which he now holds, I admit, with great credit to himself?" Mr. Whiteside had entered but a short way on a *seriatim* examination of each witness's evidence, when he obtained leave to finish his speech next day.

On Thursday, Mr. Whiteside resumed his dissection of the evidence. The assertion that his client had used the military privilege of free quarters had been disproved: he had paid for all he used—even for the bread eaten by the guard that protected him from arrest. Would that the people could always get bread; the Crown might then be more beneficially employed than in prosecutions for high treason. The "barricades" were the impromptu devise of an affectionate people, seeking to protect Mr. O'Brien from arrest: they were removed as soon as he was ascertained to be safe. Was that the work of a revolutionary insurrection? Mr. Whiteside threw doubt and ridicule on the rapid evidence of Mr. Trant, as exaggerated—no damage was done by the "dreadful crashes;" there were no marks of bullets, or of pikes; one or two bullets only found by the children, and a few panes of glass were broken by the constables themselves. The evidence of Dobbin was then dissected. Without it there was a failure of any proof of treason. It must be utterly rejected. The Red Hand Club, of which he pretended to be a member, was never in existence; there was no evidence to connect Dobbin with the Club, still less Mr. O'Brien. The one vote that was given for him as one of the War Directory was a cancelled vote. But there were eight votes for the Reverend Mr. Kenyon and one for the Reverend Mr. O'Malley. Now he doubted not those men were innocent; and if so, his client was not less so. If they were guilty, did the Government expect that the jury would convict the Protestant agitator in the dock, while the Catholic priest walked abroad in all the freshness of freedom? He would vindicate the Government and the Crown from so great an injustice; for they did not prosecute Father Kenyon. Yet Father Kenyon had eight votes, while Mr. O'Brien had not one. In conclusion, Mr. Whiteside reviewed the political life of Mr. Smith O'Brien; and made affecting allusions to his love of country, descended to him through ages of noble generations, imbibed from his mother's breast, and strengthened almost to a dangerous excess by his father's teachings and example. If the crime, consisting in the intention of the soul, was not demonstrated, the judge must be unbending, but jurors might yield to the frailties of human nature, and throw the broad shield of their protection around the accused—a censurable, but not a guilty man. Yet pity was not claimed in a wailing spirit, but in the spirit of a free constitution and on the rooted principles of a noble and humane common law. "Yet if the prisoner fall, I trust he will meet his fate with the faith of a Christian and the firmness of a man. The last accents of his lips will breathe a prayer for Ireland's happiness and Ireland's constitutional freedom; and in that moment of his mortal agony he will be consoled if through his sufferings and his sacrifices some system of government shall arise such as I have never yet existed—wise, impartial, comprehensive, and, above all, which may conduct to wealth, prosperity, and greatness, the country he has loved, not wisely perhaps, but too well."

The prisoner shed tears towards the conclusion, and many persons long accustomed to the criminal courts showed similar emotion.

Evidence for the prisoner was then given; consisting chiefly of the rules of the societies of which he was a member, and the opinions of his private and political friends—to show that he had always been a

constitutional monarchist, and a man of devoted loyalty to the person of the Sovereign.

The admission of evidence of a private conversation between the prisoner and his friend Mr. Maher, Deputy-Lieutenant of Wexford, at Enniscorthy, which occurred on the 23rd of July, was opposed by the Attorney-General: its admission was insisted on personally by Mr. O'Brien, who called on his counsel to throw up his case if it were rejected. It tended to show that Mr. O'Brien was then avoiding personal arrest only. The Court deemed the evidence inadmissible if opposed; but the Crown relinquished the opposition, and it was given. Sir David Roche and Sir Denham Norreys were among the witnesses to political character—the latter warmly shook hands with the prisoner on retiring.

Major-General Napier, the Peninsular historian, was examined in connexion with the Reform agitation of 1831-2. But the Crown officers succeeded in preventing the reading of letters from Mr. Thomas Young, Lord Melbourne's Secretary in June 1832; and in preventing any explanation of the propositions made to General Napier in the letter.

On Friday, Mr. Fitzgerald was heard on behalf of the prisoner, delivering a very able address, which was listened to with profound attention. He powerfully supported Mr. Whiteside's line of defence. When he had resumed his seat,

The Lord Chief Justice Blackburne, addressing the prisoner, said: William S. O'Brien, I have now to inform you that if you mean to address the jury you are now at liberty to do so, and that you cannot be heard after the Solicitor-General has commenced his address for the Crown. If you wish to consider with your friends whether you will address the jury or not, we will retire for a short time, and on our return you can state your decision.

Mr. O'Brien: I am able to answer the question at once. I am quite ready to leave the decision of my case to the jury as it stands and as it rests on the arguments of my counsel; and I have only, in conclusion, to thank the gentlemen of the jury for the patient attention they have given to the arguments in the case.

The Court then adjourned for a short time.

#### THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL'S REPLY.

On the reassembling of the Court, the Solicitor-General rose to reply on the part of the Crown, on the whole of the case as it appeared in evidence. He intimated the intention of the Crown to give up the 6th count, which charged the prisoner with compassing the Queen's death, and to confine the attention of the jury to the other five counts, which charged the prisoners with levying war against the Queen in the realm. For Mr. O'Brien, he said, he felt sincere and deep regret. He wished that unfortunate gentleman had not listened to the diabolical tempter who was luring him on the terrible precipice on which he stood.

Mr. O'Brien (interrupting him): It is not fair to make those remarks in Mr. Duffy's absence.

The Solicitor-General: No one feels more deeply than I do the position in which Mr. O'Brien stands. He was urged on to his ruin by others, and I repeat that he listened to them.

Mr. O'Brien (in a louder voice): It is unworthy, in the absence of a gentleman who is himself on trial at the time, to make such observations as those that have fallen from the Solicitor-General. I beg at once, and most distinctly, to repudiate all connexion with or participation in them.

The Solicitor-General continued: As those remarks seemed to influence Mr. O'Brien, he would proceed to read the letter without any further comments. In conclusion, he said, With respect to the words said to have been uttered by Mr. O'Brien at the widow McCormack's house, of "Slash away, boys, slaughter them all!" he was willing to believe that, considering the high character, mild disposition, and the education of the prisoner, he had not used them—he believed Mr. O'Brien's honour was dear to him, and gave credit to his assertion, and that the words had proceeded from a man of less education and humanity; but then Mr. O'Brien was present at the time—he was at the head of the party who were engaged in that fatal conflict. He had gone through the facts of the case, and it would be for the jury to say whether the object of Mr. O'Brien was not a general insurrection. He had endeavoured to discharge the painful duty which had devolved upon him with firmness and impartiality, and he now left the case in the hands of the jury.

#### CHARGE OF THE CHIEF-JUSTICE.

The Lord Chief-Justice Blackburne then proceeded to sum up: Your attention (he said to the jury) may be confined altogether to the charge of levying war against the Queen in her realm. In order to sustain that charge, you must be satisfied that there was an insurrection, an insurrection by force, and that the object of that insurrection was a general object. But there is one passage from a judgment of Lord Teftordry which is very distinctly applicable to the case before us. He says—"Insurrections, or risings for the purpose of effecting by force and by numbers, however ill-managed, provided, or organized the force may be, any innovation of any public nature, in which the parties had no special or particular interest or concern, have been deemed instances of the actual levy of war." The prisoner asserts that the object of recurring to the use of force was solely and exclusively to protect his person from arrest; and I have to tell you that, if the object of all this arming and of all this force was solely and exclusively to protect Mr. O'Brien's person, and the persons of those in his company, from arrest, he is entitled to your verdict of acquittal. But the personal or peculiar object must be exclusive, because if, in addition to that of protecting the

prisoner from arrest, there was the other and general purpose which the Crown contends for, the existence of that particular object is of no moment whatsoever, for the moment the general object is established that instant it becomes high treason. You will observe the period at which one class of evidence may be said to terminate and the other to commence. The evidence antecedent to the actual outbreak at Ballingarry, on the 26th, is in some respects contrasted with the evidence subsequent to that period. The evidence antecedent to that period cannot have any relation to the apprehension of arrest, because during that antecedent period no arrest was or could have been contemplated. The evidence subsequent to that time is connected with that apprehension of arrest. It is asserted on the part of the Crown, that, looking to the conduct of Mr. O'Brien for a period of the four antecedent months, they are able to satisfy you of the existence of a revolutionary scheme, and of means and preparations adopted by the prisoner for carrying that scheme into execution; and it cannot be objected in point of law to the Crown, nor has the prisoner any right to complain, that during the period intervening between the 15th of March and the 26th of July, his conduct, his acts, his speeches, and his declarations are brought forward as evidence for the purpose of showing what his intention was. I know no limit to the period at which evidence is admissible of previous conduct or previous declarations from which the intention may be inferred. It is due, in justice to Mr. O'Brien, to state that from all the evidence that has transpired and has been adduced on his behalf, there seems to be no ground whatsoever to impute disloyalty to him, or any treasonable practices or intention; and it is also right to say that with regard to the proceedings of the Confederates, their rules, and their acts, as far as they have transpired, there does not appear to have been anything revolutionary in the constitution or the acts of that body. As to the speech for which Mr. O'Brien had been prosecuted by the Attorney-General, there could be no doubt of the right of the Crown to use that speech in evidence in this case. [His Lordship then went over the evidence]. In reference to Dobbin's evidence he said: Dobbin's account of himself is one which has given rise to the objection to the reception of, or rather to the belief in, his testimony; and it is contended that he comes forward before you as an accomplice, and that you ought not to hear his evidence, unless it is corroborated with respect to the main facts by some important testimony from other quarters. If you take his statement to be true, however, he does not stand in the light of an accomplice. An accomplice, gentlemen of the jury, is one who actually engages in the illegal act he comes forward to depose to; and Dobbin, according to his own statements, did not become a member of this society with any intention of carrying forward or executing its object or plan. He became a member, as he says himself, for the purpose of "counterplotting the plot"; in other words, he should rather be called a spy than an accomplice. But, whether you regard him in one light or the other, my direction to you is, to examine the evidence closely, and to see how far it is corroborated by the various matters with which it stands in connexion; and first of all to examine it by itself. There was most ample means of contradicting him if he was not telling the truth.

Mr. Whiteside: It was impossible to say before the trial that the witness would have been produced. His client ought not to be affected by the fact, that he had not been furnished with a list of witnesses when he had specially applied to the Court for it.

The Lord Chief Justice read a passage to the effect, that the guilt of the prisoner depended not on the absence of any explanation from him of the crime laid to his charge, but on positive proof of that charge from the Crown; but that, if certain appearances were made out against him, it was not unreasonable to expect that he should be called on by evidence, out of regard for his own safety, to reconcile those suspicious circumstances.

Mr. Whiteside: The authority you quote to the jury, my lord, is an English case. The prisoner, of whom these observations were made, had a list of witnesses eleven days before the trial.

The Lord Chief Justice: That is perfectly true—the prisoner was indicted in England. The prisoner in this case is exposed to the disadvantage, or rather, he is not entitled to the advantage which he would have received in England, of being furnished with a list of witnesses ten days before trial. It does, I confess, appear doubtful to me whether, upon consideration of the subject, I should advise you to say, there is not some presumption that his (Dobbin's) story is true in its main particulars. The learned Judge read over the rest of the evidence; and, on concluding it, said, as the hour was so late it would, perhaps, be better if he left off at that stage, and if the jury meantime looked over the notes of the evidence.

Mr. Whiteside requested his lordship to instruct the jury that Father Kenyon's name appeared on the balloting papers, though the witness Dobbin stated that no priest would be balloted for; and that Mr. O'Brien's name had appeared on the papers only once, and had then been struck off.

The Lord Chief Justice did so; and, as he was about retiring from the bench, was addressed by some of the jury in a low tone of voice.

Mr. O'Brien thereupon exclaimed: If the jury have no objection, I should like to hear what they have to say to their lordships.

A Juryman (addressing his lordship): I wish to ask your lordship one question. The witness Dobbin stated that his club was not called. Then how comes it that he was present at the meeting of the presi-

dents of clubs? How did he get in there? I don't understand that at all.

The Lord Chief Justice: The day of the meeting to which he alluded was the 21st; the day on which the clubs were called was the 15th.

The Juryman: But how could he have attended on the 21st, if the club was not acknowledged on the 15th?

The Lord Chief Justice: He stated his club was a branch club, and that he was not acknowledged as a representative; but he says he was a member of the club. His lordship then read his notes referring to this portion of the evidence.

Another Juryman: The meeting was composed of the representatives of clubs. I do not understand how he could have been there if his club was not acknowledged.

The Lord Chief Justice: I would advise you, gentlemen, to look to your notes, and see how the evidence stands as to this matter.

Mr. Whiteside: I think you have it on your notes, my Lord, that all but the representatives of the clubs were ordered to leave the room; but that Dobbin remained, although he states he was not a representative.

His lordship again referred to his notes, and having concluded the extract,

Mr. O'Brien addressed the jury, and said: May I be allowed to call your attention to the remark, which fell from your lordship as to the possibility of bringing evidence to confute the testimony of Dobbin? The jury must know that every man in the Confederation, or any one who has taken a leading part in the management of it or of the clubs, has been hunted down by the Government, and that it would be impossible to bring them forward to contradict it.

A Juryman: It does not appear that Dobbin was one of those who was allowed to remain. He was not recognised as a member of the clubs.

Mr. Whiteside: The case will do as it stands very well.

The jury were then given into charge of their usual guardians, the four policemen.

The Court adjourned at seven, to nine o'clock on Saturday.

#### RE-EXAMINATION OF DOBBIN.

On Saturday morning, the Chief Justice resumed his charge, and concluded it about noon. He was interrupted about eleven by Mr. Whiteside, who begged the Court to adjourn for a few minutes, in order that he might have a brief conference with the Attorney-General. On their return, he announced that, with the consent of the counsel for the Crown, he wished the informer Dobbin to be recalled. After a little delay, Dobbin was placed on the table, and examined as to a meeting with a man named Dalton, and certain transactions connected with it. He emphatically denied all knowledge of the man, and denied that he knew or had ever seen such a person. He was then retained on the table, while Dalton was sent for. Dalton was sworn, and deposed to meeting Dobbin in the middle of June at a public-house in Dublin, and to the conversation that ensued. He also detailed a subsequent meeting with Dobbin, who pressed him, as he seemed a clever fellow, to join the clubs, in order to draw up the resolutions, &c.; and, as the evidence of an informer was not of much value unless supported, they could mutually outbid each other, as he knew the Government was most anxious for information. Dalton said he would have nothing to do with him, and saw no more of him. Seeing the reports in the papers, he thought that Dobbin must be the same man. He (Dalton) wrote a letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, detailing these circumstances. He took the letter himself; and the people at the *Freeman's Journal*, believing the evidence to be important, sent him to Clonmel by special engine. He identified Dobbin at once, who, however, denied that he had ever seen him before, which produced derisive laughter throughout the Court.

#### THE VERDICT.

The jury retired about four o'clock, but returned into Court to ask if they could find their verdict on one of the counts only.

The Chief Justice replied, that they must find a general verdict of not guilty, or guilty, on the whole; they finally returned into Court at ten minutes past five o'clock, declaring the prisoner *Guilty*, but at the same time recommending him to the merciful consideration of the Government, and hoping that, for various reasons, his life would be spared. Mr. O'Brien did not appear in the least affected by the announcement.

**THE VERDICT AGAINST MR. O'BRIEN.**—The daily papers furnish a detailed report of the conclusion of Mr. O'Brien's trial:—

The foreman of the jury was so deeply moved, that he could not read the issue paper, which was read by the Clerk of the Court:—"We earnestly recommend the prisoner to the merciful consideration of Government, the jury being unanimously, for many reasons, of opinion that his life should be spared." Mr. O'Brien's behaviour was admirable. He withdrew the word "spy" as applicable to Mr. Hodges, the Government reporter. When Dalton had been examined, he thanked the Attorney-General for permitting it. When the jury withdrew to consider their verdict, a most anxious interval elapsed of upwards of an hour. The hum of conversation in the court was low and subdued. Nearly every eye was directed to the dock where the prisoner stood, drawn up to his full height, with his gaze directed constantly, but steadily, towards the door of the jury-room. He conversed with his attorney (Mr. Potter) continually, and was, apparently, as calm and collected as though life and fortune depended not on the issue. When the return of the jury into court was awaited, all the audience were more or less moved, with the exception of the judges and the prisoner, who coolly leaned forward on the spikes in front of the dock. The jury at last entered; they looked

like men who had discharged a painful and weighty duty; and as the gloom of evening began to settle down upon the court, and threw its shadows over the mass of pale anxious faces, the scene was one of great solemnity and power.—The Clerk of the Crown then called over the roll of the jury. Each man answered to his name. Clerk of the Crown: "How say you, gentlemen of the jury, on the first count, guilty or not guilty?" The foreman, in a low and agitated voice, "Guilty." The word caused a perceptible sensation in every corner of the court. Mr. O'Brien slightly nodded his head to the jury, and gave no other sign of emotion.

**TRIAL OF MR. C. G. DUFFY.**—The Dublin commission is to open on the 21st inst. Mr. Duffy is to be tried at this commission. In the summonses to the city grand jury, there is a notification that "a heavy penalty will be incurred for non-attendance."

**ACCOUCHEMENT OF MRS. SMITH O'BRIEN.**—The *Cork Examiner* says:—"A private letter from Clonmel states that Mrs. Smith O'Brien had given birth to a son on Wednesday night. The eloquent counsel must not have heard of the interesting fact, or he might have made powerful use of it."

The *Limerick Examiner* mentions as a rumour that Sir Lucius O'Brien and the Dowager Lady O'Brien had an intention of waiting upon the Queen, "for what purpose it is scarcely necessary to declare."

**THE FAILURE OF THE POTATO CROP** gives rise to forebodings. The Relief Committee of Kilmeena and Kilmaclasses, county of Mayo, held a meeting on the 29th ult., when they adopted a resolution declaring to the Government and the benevolent societies, "That the state of the district is truly alarming, and will be very shortly, in all appearance, far worse than it has been at any former period during the last three years; as the potato crop may now be considered as annihilated, and all the other resources of the poor people will be shortly exhausted."

#### THE REJECTED LETTER.

The *Dublin Freeman's Journal* publishes the following letter, addressed to Colonel (now General) Napier by Mr. Thomas Young, Private Secretary to the Premier in 1832, and which was offered, but not received, in evidence by the counsel for Mr. Smith O'Brien. It runs as follows:—

My dear Napier,—Sir H. Bunbury told me of your wise determination not to become "a Parliament man," at least for the present. The offer was very tempting, and you have the more merit in declining. I refrained from writing to you while the matter was undecided, for I did not wish to obtrude my opinion; but I felt that reason was against your acceptance, as your health, your purse, and your comfort, would all have suffered by your attendance in the House of Commons. The history must have been laid aside. You could not, moreover, have been a calm and silent member, but would have been exerting yourself to push onward the movement faster than it probably will march, or than, perhaps, all things considered, it is desirable it should march.

Let us go back a moment.

The display of energy and a readiness to act on the part of the people, when the Duke of W—— was on the eve of coming in, was greater far than I expected. I speak not of the Cockneys, but of the men of the north—Glasgow, Newcastle, Birmingham. Are you aware that, in the event of a fight, you were to be invited to take the command at Birmingham? Parkes got a frank from me for you with that view, but had no occasion to send it. Had he written, I should have fired a despatch at you, with my friendly and anxious counsel and entreaty to keep you quiet, and not to stir from Freshford. It is not well to enter early into revolutions; the first fall victims. What do you think would have happened? The Reformers (Place, &c.) talked big to me, and felt assured of success. The run upon the banks, and the barreling of the populous country towns, would have brought matters to a crisis, and a week they—the Reformers—thought would have finished the business. They meant so to agitate here that no soldiers could have been spared from London, and the army is too small elsewhere to have put down the rebels. In Scotland, I believe, the most effectual blow would have been struck, and it seems difficult to have resisted the popular movement. The Tories, however, say the Duke would have succeeded. No doubt the discipline under which soldiers live might have proved a stronger element than the public enthusiasm—i. e., unless the latter was universal or extensive, and then it would have carried all before it. The task would have been to bring back society to its former quiet state! Thank God, we have been spared the trial; but, as a matter of speculation, tell me what you think would have been the result. Am I right in my conjecture that you would have refused the Birmingham invite, and kept your sword in its scabbard?

Yours ever truly,

T. Y.

Thanks for your first volume. Jones has come back better.

**THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY.**—On Monday, a locomotive, with tender and two open carriages, came from Peterborough to Lincoln, on the Great-Northern loop line, *via* Spalding and Boston, being the first time that a through journey has been made. The "loop" is expected to be open to the public about the middle of October.—*Railway Times*.

**CHURCH-RATES AT CHELTENHAM.**—A vestry meeting was held on Thursday week (Rev. Francis Close in the chair) to levy a church-rate. The churchwardens proposed a rate of 1½d. in the pound; and Mr. Boodle moved as an amendment that a rate of 2d. in the pound be made, as sufficient for all legal purposes. The amendment was carried by a large majority; and a poll was demanded, which closed on Saturday with, it is understood, a considerable majority in favour of the three-farthings rate.

#### THE CHOLERA.

##### NOTIFICATION OF THE BOARD OF HEALTH.

Friday night's *Gazette* announces that the Queen has appointed Thomas Southwood Smith, M.D., to be the Medical Member of the General Board of Health. The *Gazette* also contains a notification on the prevention of cholera, issued by the General Board of Health, under the Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act.

It repeats the statement that the cholera is not contagious; so that panic, flight from the sick, quarantine regulations, &c., under that imaginary supposition, are supererogatory evils.

The notification warns the Guardians of the Poor Parochial Boards, &c., that they will be called upon to put the Nuisances, &c., Act into operation; and supplies them with much useful, distinct, and specific advice, as to the mode of doing so. The Boards will have to institute visits from house to house, especially to "dangerous" districts (marked out by prevalence of typhus and other epidemics); to enforce internal and external cleansing of dwellings, with removal of filth, decaying animal and vegetable matters, and whatever produces atmospheric impurity; to give directions for obtaining dryness and ventilation,—moisture being an active cause of cholera; to supply the poor with information to aid them with physic, and to remove *destitute* patients to proper asylums; general cholera hospitals not being recommended.

The premonitory symptom is diarrhoea, often without pain, mostly of a very mild character. During the prevalence of cholera, diarrhoea demands instant attention: the *slightest* degree of looseness of the bowels ought not to be neglected.

The proper remedies at this stage are, "twenty grains of opiate of confection, mixed with two table-spoonsfuls of peppermint-water or a little weak brandy and water, and repeated every three or four hours, or oftener if the attack is severe, until the looseness of the bowels is stopped; or an ounce of the compound chalk mixture, with ten or fifteen grains of the aromatic confection, and from five to ten drops of laudanum, repeated in the same manner. From half a drachm to a drachm of tincture of castor oil may be added to this last if the attack is severe. Half these quantities should be given to young persons under fifteen, and still smaller doses to infants. It is recommended to repeat these remedies, night and morning, for some days after the looseness of the bowels has been stopped."

Diet should be moderate. Every variety of green vegetables, cooked or not, and all kinds of fruit, raw, cooked, dried, or preserved, should be avoided. The wholesome articles of vegetable diet are, well-baked bread, (not new,) rice, oatmeal, and good potatoes. Diet should be solid rather than fluid, and principally animal food: avoiding salted and smoked meats, pork, saited fish, and shell-fish. Avoid acid drinks of all kinds, ginger-beer, and ardent spirits.

Above all, be moderate, during the whole duration of the epidemic period. "One single act of indiscretion has in many instances been followed by a speedy and fatal attack." In proof, during the former visitation of this country, "the most frequent and deadly attacks were those that took place in the middle of the night, a few hours after a heavy supper." Three fatal cases at Hamburg, recently, were those of sailors who had just taken plums and sour beer. Two fatal cases at Sunderland, recently, were those of drunkards who defied warnings.

Clothing should be warm, with flannel next the skin: the feet kept dry and warm; clothes changed after exposure to wet or moisture; sitting-rooms and bed-rooms kept well aired, dry, and warm.

Purgative medicines of all kinds must be avoided. Glauber salts, Epsom salts, and Seidlitz powders, in any quantity, are dangerous; also senna, colocynth, and aloes; except under medical advice.

When seized with cold, giddiness, nausea, vomiting and cramps, get into a warm bed; use heated flannel, bags of hot camomile flowers, or heated bran, salt, or sand, or bottles of hot water, to produce warmth; have the extremities rubbed; apply a large poultice of mustard and vinegar over the region of the stomach, for fifteen or twenty minutes; drink every half-hour, a spoonful of sal volatile in a little hot water, or a dessert-spoonful of brandy in a little hot water, or white wine whey (made by pouring one glass of sherry into a tumbler of hot milk); and send for the doctor as quickly as possible.

Districts are seldom visited by the epidemic for longer periods than a few months, or even a few weeks. Preventives for cholera are equally applicable as preventives of typhus or other recurrent epidemics.

Such are the chief points carefully picked out from the official notification. But, of course, all public bodies, or managers of large establishments, will procure the original document, in the *Gazette* of October 6, 1848.

**THE CHOLERA IN LONDON.**—There were no accounts yesterday of any fresh cases of cholera either at Hull or at Sunderland. In the metropolis, however, some scattered cases were confidently reported, chiefly in low lying or ill-conditioned places. Five cases have occurred in a court in Chelsea; three at Rotherhithe; two in the city of London; two in Spital-fields; two in Whitechapel; two in Bermondsey; two in Horsleydown: inclusive of those at Woolwich, twenty-six fatal cases have been reported during the week. Dr. Parkes, who wrote a work of celebrity on the Indian cholera, and Mr. Robert Bowie, surgeon, who gave evidence on the river-side cases before the Sanitary Commissioners, have been engaged, in behalf of the General Board of Health, examining the cases reported to them.—*Times*, of yesterday.

**THE CHOLERA AT EDINBURGH.**—A notification was received on Friday in town from Edinburgh, announcing the appearance there of malignant cholera in five cases, three in one part of the city, and two in another. Three of the cases had proved fatal within twenty-four hours. The College of Surgeons had advised the immediate formation of a local Board of Health. Dr. Sutherland, who had been investigating two cases of cholera occurring at Sunderland on board a vessel from Hamburg, had, on Thursday, been directed by the General Board of Health to proceed to Edinburgh, and take steps in aid of the organization of a local Board of Health, and measures of prevention or alleviation.

**THE CHOLERA AT HULL.**—No other cases of cholera have occurred in Hull since our last; and we believe that the apprehensions which existed last week have almost entirely subsided. This fearful disease appears on the point of leaving Europe, and we hope no more will be heard of it.—*Hull Advertiser*, of Friday.

#### SCIENCE AND ART.

A new description of gas, free from many of the disadvantages of the gas in common use, has been lately invented. It is called "hydro-carbon gas," and is generated from water and tar or resin.

**NOVEL APPLICATION OF GLASS.**—A glass manufacturing firm at Birmingham are now engaged in the manufacture of a pair of magnificent glass doors, the frame-work of which is wood. On either side are two pilasters composed of crystal glass fluted with gold. The lower panels are of silvered glass, each ornamented by a centre star, richly cut. The upper panel is of the large dimensions of four feet by two and a half, and is of plate glass with an etched border. The upper portion of the door-way is inlaid with richly cut glass, and the entablature is composed of crystal and plain glass. The whole is surmounted by a large shell; and on either hand are vases with flowers, &c. The dimensions of the work are 17 feet by 10.

**MR. BAKEWELL'S COPYING ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.**—Experiments were made a few days since, between the Electric Telegraph Company's station in Seymour-street and Slough; which we understand proved very satisfactorily that the same amount of power required for working the needle-telegraph is amply sufficient for the copying process. Copies of the written messages were made on paper with a single wire, and at double the speed of transmission by the ordinary needle-telegraph; though, with the small model instruments employed in the experiments, rapidity was not attempted. With larger and more accurately constructed apparatus, we hear that Mr. Bakewell expects to be able to copy 800 letters of the alphabet per minute.

Cruickshank's splendid plates on the "Bottle and Drunkard's Children" will soon be familiar as "household words." The Sunderland Pottery Company has purchased the right, and has brought out copies of these plates in splendid style upon articles of earthenware.

**WARMING AND VENTILATING HOUSES FOR THE WORKING CLASSES.**—Mr. Newlands, *Builder*, gives a plan, wherein the back of the fireplace in each living-room is formed of a slab of fire-brick, and an opening is left between the contiguous backs, communicating with the external air by a flue carried under the level of the floor. The air in passing these fire-brick slabs becomes heated, and is carried in a wooden trunk between the ceiling of the lower apartment and the floor above, and admitted into each room at the upper edge of the skirting. These hot-air flues between the fire-places terminate at the second floor, but the tunnels are continued upwards to the chimney tops, to serve as exhausting flues for the ventilation of the apartments, small wooden trunks being carried from an opening in the centre of each ceiling to join them. These openings are furnished with flaps of light oiled silk, opening upwards. Bricks moulded so as to form such flues as those described, without interfering with the bond, can now be obtained at about the same price as the patent compressed brick.

**DISINFECTION PROPERTY OF COFFEE.**—Coffee is one of the most powerful means not only of rendering animal and vegetable effluvia innocuous, but of actually destroying them. A room in which meat in an advanced degree of decomposition had been kept some time, was instantly deprived of all smell on an open coffee roaster being carried through it, containing a pound of coffee newly roasted. In another room, exposed to the effluvia occasioned by the clearing out of a dung-pit, so that sulphuretted hydrogen and ammonia in great quantity could be chemically detected, the stench was completely removed within half a minute on the employment of three ounces of fresh roasted coffee; whilst the other parts of the house were permanently cleared of the same smell by being simply traversed with the coffee roaster, although the cleansing of the dung-pit lasted for several hours longer. Even the smell of musk and castoreum, which cannot be overpowered by any other substance, is completely dispelled by the fumes of coffee; and the same applies to the odour of assafoetida.—*Medical Gazette*.

**GUTTA PERCHA SKINS.**—We learn that some curious preparations for covering or closing wounds are likely to be brought into use as substitutes for court-plaster and similar applications. Mr. Mansfield, of Regent-street, describes in *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, a solution of gutta percha, which, when applied to a wound, forms in a minute a new permanent skin, which will not wash off.

## POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, October 11, Two o'clock.

## SENTENCE OF DEATH ON MR. W. S. O'BRIEN.

At the Special Commission at Clonmel, on Monday, Mr. O'Brien was brought up to receive judgment.

Mr. Whiteside interposed, with an application in arrest of judgment, which was eventually set aside by the Court.

On being asked by the Clerk of the Crown whether he could state any reason why sentence of death should not be passed upon him,

Mr. O'Brien stood erect in front of the dock. Not a trace of emotion was upon his face, except at the conclusion of his address, when a slight flush passed over it for a moment. He spoke in a loud and firm voice the following words, every syllable of which was drunk up by the anxious ears of his silent and attentive auditory:—

My Lords.—It is not my intention to enter into any vindication of my conduct, however much I might have desired to avail myself of this opportunity of doing so. I am perfectly satisfied with the consciousness that I have performed my duty to my country—that I have done only that which it was, in my opinion, the duty of every Irishman to have done. And I am now prepared to abide the consequences of my having performed my duty to my native land. Proceed with your sentence.

A partial burst of applause, accompanied by stamping of feet, took place in various parts of the court, which was suppressed by the officers.

The Lord Chief Justice Blackburne proceeded to address the prisoner, who rose from the chair on which he had taken his seat on the conclusion of his observations, and presented himself to the court with the same impossibility of feature that he had before exhibited:—

William Smith O'Brien (said his Lordship), after a long, patient, and laborious trial, a jury of your countrymen have found you guilty of high treason—their verdict was accompanied by a recommendation to the mercy of the Crown—that recommendation, as is our duty, we shall send forward to the Lord-Lieutenant, to whom, as you must know, exclusively belongs the power to comply with it. It now remains for us to perform the last solemn act of duty which devolves upon us, and to pronounce that sentence by which the law marks the enormity of your guilt, and aims at the prevention of similar crimes by the example and infliction of a terrible punishment. Oh! that you would reflect upon that crime, and dwell upon it with sincere repentance and remorse. Oh! that you would regard it as it is regarded by every rational being—that you would feel and know that it is really and substantially as repugnant to the interests of humanity, to the precepts and spirit of the Divine religion we profess, as it is to the positive law, your violation of which is now attended by the forfeiture of your life. The few words you have addressed to the Court forbid me (I say it with the greatest distress) to proceed any further with this subject. It now only remains to the Court to pronounce the sentence of death. [Here his lordship and his brother judges put on their black caps, and the act caused a perceptible sensation in the Court on every one but the prisoner. His lordship proceeded with much solemnity]—That sentence is, that you, William Smith O'Brien, shall be taken hence to the place whence you came, and be thence drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck until you be dead, and that afterwards your head shall be severed from your body, and your body severed into four quarters, to be disposed of as her Majesty may think fit. May the Lord have mercy on your soul!

As he uttered those words, his lordship raised his hands towards heaven, and seemed deeply affected, in that respect sharing the feeling which had been produced by the awe-inspiring accents in which he had pronounced the terrible sentence. The Attorney-General was sensibly agitated. No one who looked upon him could say that his had been a labour of love. Amid the regret which appeared on the countenance of every person in court, the prisoner alone seemed to glory in maintaining an indifference—stoical, at least—and which, under the terrible circumstances around him, could have been but assumed. The judges then left the bench. The governor of the gaol put his arm on Mr. O'Brien's shoulder, and was about removing him, when Dr. Gray, Mr. Potter (his solicitor), and Mr. O'Hara, pressed to the side of the dock, and with outstretched arms sought his hand. He turned round and gave each of them a hearty shake of the hand, bowed his head to his friends, and almost with a smile on his face descended from the dock in the custody of the officers of the prison. A low murmur among the audience followed his disappearance.

THE TRIAL OF MR. BELLEW M'MANUS was proceeded with after sentence had been pronounced upon Mr. O'Brien. He also is charged with high treason. Mr. Butt, Q.C., and Mr. O'Callaghan, appeared for the prisoner. The case for the prosecution occupied the whole day, and was then adjourned.

DREADFUL MURDERS.—Three bailiffs, who had been placed as "keepers" on the goods of a man named Brien, at Bansha, Tipperary, against whom a distress warrant for poor-rates had issued, were brutally murdered on Sunday morning by a party of men in disguise, with their faces blackened.

MEETING OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS.—The Roman Catholic prelates have mustered in full force in the metropolis, and their deliberations and movements are scanned with no small share of curiosity. On Monday evening the Primate (Dr. Crotty), and the Right Rev. Dr. McGettigan proceeded to the Castle, upon a deputation, it is understood, to the Chief Secretary.

INTIMIDATION OF JURORS.—The Messrs. Bradshaw, of Tipperary, were stopped on their way home on Saturday

day from Clonmel by two armed men. This proceeding, which happily their courage prevented from terminating violently, is said to be the first operation against Mr. O'Brien's jurors. One of the men is in custody.

## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.—In the National Assembly, on Monday, the 43rd article, declaring that the President shall be elected by universal suffrage, by ballot, and by an absolute majority, was carried by a majority of 627 against 130. The article 44 was then discussed, which is to the following effect:—

That if no candidate shall obtain more than half the entire number of votes delivered, the National Assembly shall elect, by ballot, one of the five candidates who shall be the highest on the poll.

This was finally adopted; but an amendment in the original article was also adopted, which substituted two millions of votes as the lowest number which can render the election valid, for three millions as proposed in the project. The article 45, declaring that the President must be a native of France and a French citizen, was then debated. M. Anthony Thourret proposed an addition to this, excluding every member of the royal and imperial families. This was opposed by the members of the committee, and supported by MM. de Ladre and Reynaud. In the midst of this part of the debate, Prince Louis Napoleon entered the House, and, ascending the tribune, protested with much dignity and force against the name of the pretender, which was continually fixed upon him. He declared that he assumed no character except the honourable one of the nominee of 300,000 French citizens, who had twice returned him. After this, M. Thourret withdrew his amendment, and the article 45 was voted without division.—There were rumours of a Ministerial crisis arising out of the vote of the Assembly, and much agitation prevailed. General Cavaignac, M. Armand Marrast, and their party, have determined, according to some, to leave the Assembly by resigning and throwing parliament into a dilemma from which it can only extricate itself by falling on its knees, crying "peccavi," and rescinding the vote of Saturday evening. The Committee on the Constitution had a meeting on Monday morning, at which it was resolved to propose to the Assembly that the election shall take place immediately after the constitution has been declared.—The first division of colonists for Algeria, to the number of 800, set out from Paris on Sunday morning.

HUNGARY.—The *Wener Gazette* officially confirms the important intelligence of the nomination of Baron Jellalich, the Ban of Croatia, to the post of Civil and Military Governor of Hungary, with almost unlimited powers, the dissolution of the Hungarian Diet, and the condemnation of their resolutions, the proclamation of martial law in Hungary, and a command to prosecute and arrest the assassins of the late Count Lamberg. The Emperor has also issued a proclamation appointing the Master of the Ordnance and Captain of the Hungarian Guards, Baron Reczey, to the post of President of the Hungarian Ministry, and charging him with the formation of a new Cabinet.

The accounts of the relative position of the Hungarians and Croatians are very conflicting. According to one statement, the position of the Croats was desperate. They had moved upon Raab, with, it was said, an intention to retire into Austria.

## THE REVENUE RETURNS.

The quarterly statement of the revenue is published in this morning's papers. We take the following summary from the *Times*:—

In the ordinary revenue there is a net increase on the quarter to the amount of £722,277. But in order to check any excessive congratulations at this little bit of prosperity, it must be remarked that the quarter ending October 10, 1847, with which the comparison is now made, was about the very worst we have had for some years. It fell below the corresponding quarter of 1846 by no less a sum than £1,276,912. The present increase, therefore, recovers little more than half of the previous downfall, leaving the quarter still more than half a million below the corresponding one of 1846. The quarter ending October 10, 1847, exhibited what may be called an unnatural and accidental depression. Owing to the high prices of barley the previous spring, there was a decrease of about £600,000 in the malt duties, and about £240,000 in the spirit duties. The parallel, therefore, does not offer much positive satisfaction. We can only say that we are not down quite so low as we were last year at this time.

As may be guessed from the reason just stated for the extraordinary decrease in the corresponding quarter last year, there is a considerable improvement in the malt and spirit duties. The increase in the Excise, however, is partly owing to a change of accounts, the duties upon public and hired conveyances, as well as some other matters, having been transferred from the Stamps to the Excise. Hence an apparent decrease of £248,003 in the former department. There is an increase of £469,839 on the quarter's Customs, owing partly to the receipt of a considerable sum on the admission of corn, which in the corresponding quarter last year came in duty free. On the ordinary revenue of the whole year there has been a decrease to the amount of £412,757. The quarter is, therefore, an improvement on the year. The tide has turned in our favour, and we may now hope for a glimpse of our former prosperity.

STATE OF TRADE, MANCHESTER.—The trade operations of last week have been far from satisfactory, and again we are compelled to report drooping prices and limited transactions. The orders given out yesterday on 'Change were generally on a small scale, at somewhat reduced rates. The printers, generally, are well employed, but the spinners are beginning to complain. Printing cloths maintain

their former rates better than most other goods. The foreign trade is exceedingly heavy, and the limited orders which are given out in that department cause considerable gloom in the market. It is reported that the orders from America are considerable. Unless a speedy change for the better be realized, it is to be feared that the present stagnant state of trade will result in the partial suspension of many mills in and around Manchester—a circumstance which will be most disastrous to the operative classes. The authorities have suspended the weekly report of the state of employment.

THE CHOLERA.—Three fatal cases of Asiatic cholera—one of them the termination of an attack of cholera on board the hulks—were reported yesterday; and several cases of dangerous attacks, confidently stated to be of Asiatic cholera, were also reported. Twelve of the cases reported on Monday, and mentioned in our paper of yesterday, were subsequent to the thirteen cases reported in the Registrar-General's report of the cases of last week, which were up to Saturday only. A vessel had arrived from Hamburg, at Hull, on Monday, with several cases of attacks, and one fatal case, on board. Two cases of cholera had occurred in the town, but they were positively stated to be cases of the common English cholera, and that no cases of Asiatic cholera had been heard of there. To the favourable change of weather in the metropolis it is attributed that the rate of increase of extraordinary cases has been stayed, though the ravages from the ordinary epidemics, as reported by the Registrar-General, have been considerable, being 430 against an average of 270.—*Times* of to-day.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, TUESDAY AFTERNOON.—From diligent inquiry which I have made I have ascertained that no vessels have entered our port with cholera patients on board. On Saturday the "Tucker" from Hamburg was off the bar; she had lost two of her crew at that port, of cholera. The Captain had, likewise, been in the hospital ill of the same complaint, but he was quite recovered, and was able to take charge. He is a teetotaler of twelve years' standing. The English cholera, as it is called, is very prevalent, but in no instance have I heard tell of it being followed with fatal consequences. A local paper, a week or two ago, made some rather ill-natured remark upon a paragraph furnished by me, and which has gone the round of the papers. The writer states, that the omission of Gateshead from the immediate operation of the Health of Towns' Bill, was not a "blunder," but was the result of a clause intentionally put in, and which would affect a hundred towns as well as Gateshead. In fact, it would affect every town that had a local act. This I knew before writing the paragraph; but I hold it was no less a blunder; one could hardly think any government could be guilty of perpetrating the hideous farce of urging a measure through Parliament, for the purpose, if possible, of meeting a contingency like the cholera, yet knowing it would be perfectly inoperative in those towns the most obnoxious to that fearful malady.—*From our Correspondent*.

HALIFAX ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—An adjourned annual meeting of the above society was held in the large vestry of Harrison road Chapel, on Tuesday evening, the 3rd inst. Francis Crossley, Esq., in the chair. After the regulations of the British Anti-state-church Association for local committees had been read, the resolutions of the last meeting were confirmed, the substance of which are as follows:—"That the Halifax Association be dissolved, and that we unite with the British." A local committee was nominated, subject to the approval of the executive committee in London. Considerable expectations were excited when the Halifax Association was formed, more than a year ago. It was a position many of the Halifax Dissenters had never taken before, there having been some disappointment felt respecting the tardiness of its operations, although it was mainly owing to this organization that at the last election the representation of the borough was contested on Anti-state-church principles by E. Miall, Esq. So much has been done for the spread of the principles by that contest, that we are not disposed to find further fault with the old Association, but we do hope that new life will be infused by its being remodelled. After the business was transacted, a conversation took place on what could be done by local agency during the coming winter. The Rev. Mr. Whitewood, Baptist, and the Rev. E. Mellor, M.A., Independent, the only local ministers present, engaged to give each a lecture. Other ministers in the town will be requested by the committee to do likewise, so that if all the Dissenting ministers in Halifax will deliver one lecture each, we shall have one in the month during the winter.—*From a Correspondent*.

REPRESENTATION OF WEST YORKSHIRE.—The only candidate at present mentioned for the seat vacant by the elevation of Lord Morpeth to the peerage is Mr. Edmund Denison, Chairman of the Great Northern Railway. It is not known at present whether Sir Charles Wood, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will be brought forward, as was rumoured some time since.

PRINCE METTERNICH and his son, Prince Richard Metternich, and Baron Huegal, have become members of the Brighton Conservative Club.

CORN-EXCHANGE, MARK-LANE, WEDNESDAY, OCT. 11. We are moderately supplied with grain and flour this week. The trade on our market to-day is very quiet, without alteration in price. The only alteration in the duties to-morrow will be an advance on Oats to 3s. per quarter.

Arrivals this week:—Wheat, 1,380 qrs. English; 6,960 qrs. Foreign. Barley, 1,350 qrs. English; 3,430 qrs. Foreign. Oats, 720 qrs. English; 3,450 qrs. Foreign. Flour, 2,010 sacks.

## COURT, AND PERSONAL NEWS.

**HUMANITY OF THE QUEEN.**—The Queen, Prince Albert, and Royal Family, have been spending a quiet week at Osborne. On Monday, they left for Windsor Castle, where they arrived at seven p.m., the Duchess of Kent being there to receive them. While the "Fairy" steamer was off the Spit Buoy, on her course to Portsmouth, a shore boat, with seven persons on board, proceeding to the "Gramous" frigate, lying at Spithead, had, in a sudden squall, unfortunately upset, when five women and two men were engulfed in a rough sea, with every prospect of certain death. The "Gypsy," Custom-house cutter, however, while returning from the "Gramous," observed the accident, and a boat, steered by Mr. Whitty, tide surveyor, and two men, immediately put off to the spot, and after much beating about, on account of heavy sea and wind, picked up Locke, a waterman, and saved his life. The accident having been perceived on board the royal yacht, she was, by her Majesty's command, instantly stopped, her barge lowered and promptly steered to the scene of the disaster. Two individuals were taken on board, and immediately conveyed to Portsmouth, where medical assistance was afforded, and one woman named Moore recovered, but the other could not be resuscitated. Out of the seven, therefore, only three were brought ashore: it is feared that all the others have met a watery grave. A steamer ("Fire Queen") was instantly ordered to assist in recovering the remainder. A messenger from her Majesty called at the house where the parties lay, to ascertain if any of them had been restored to life, and soon afterwards the lieutenant-governor and his staff rode down to the same house, and made particular inquiries at the request of her Majesty.

**DEATH OF THE EARL OF CARLISLE.**—On Friday, it was known in London that his lordship's illness was of the most alarming character, and on Saturday evening intelligence of his lamented death reached town. Lord Morpeth, his eldest son, was summoned to Castle Howard more than a week ago, and was speedily joined by his sister, Lady Dover, by his brother, Captain Howard, and other members of the family. The parents of the late peer were Frederick, fifth Earl, and the Lady Margaret Caroline, eldest daughter of the first Marquis of Stafford. His lordship was born in London, on the 17th of September, 1773. His lordship withdrew altogether from public life in 1834. Although at that time not much more than sixty years of age, yet it became evident that he was falling into the decrepitude of age. Thenceforward he resided principally in the country; his name ceased to be mentioned in political circles, and at length he sank into the grave, doubtless as much beloved by his family and personal friends as he was respected by his political associates. His lordship's death creates a vacancy in the Order of the Garter; and the advancement of the present Earl to a seat in the House of Peers will occasion a new election for the West Riding of York. The deceased peer resigned the office of Lord-Lieutenant of the East Riding of York in July 1847, and his lordship's eldest son was appointed to succeed him.

**LORD JOHN RUSSELL** has been visiting some of the romantic scenery of Scotland. Last week he arrived at Edinburgh, where he spent two or three days. He thence proceeds to Minto-house. He is described as being "care-worn and exhausted."

**THE QUEEN** has been pleased to appoint Thomas Southwood Smith, M.D., to be the Medical Member of the General Board of Health.

**MONUMENT TO GEORGE STEPHENSON.**—The London and North-Western Railway Company have resolved on erecting a marble statue, from the chisel of Mr. Gibson, to George Stephenson, the late eminent civil engineer, as the author of the improved locomotive, and the promoter of the great railway system twenty years ago.

**FORTY SHILLING FREEHOLDS.**—During the revision of the Chelmsford district registration, among the new claimants to vote were some residing in the parish of Springfield—persons who had purchased small freeholds with money advanced by the Chelmsford Building and Investment Society, and whose votes were objected to on the ground that the property was mortgaged to the society, and that there was not a clear income, free of all charges, of 40s. per annum. It was proved that each claimant had an interest in the building fund, to which he paid 10s. per share per month, and that funds were advanced from the partnership stock for the purchase of the property, over which the building fund had no control whilst the monthly instalments were kept up; but when three successive monthly failures had occurred, the committee of that society was eligible to take possession of the premises, and, if they thought proper, to dispose of them. The revising barrister decided that it was a case of clear and distinct mortgage; and, as there was not a clear rental of 40s. free of all charges, the parties were not entitled to vote. As the decision of the case might materially affect other parties, and as the question involved was one of general importance, a case for the Court of Queen's Bench was granted, and the names of the claimants were expunged, subject to the rule of the higher court.

**THIRSK.**—The *Globe* mentions a rumour that "the worthy Member for Thirsk (Mr. Bell) is about to resign his seat in Parliament, on the score of ill health. Two candidates are spoken of as his successor—one a son-in-law of a neighbouring baronet, and some time member for Windsor; the other a young officer, well known in Thirsk, who will come forward upon Liberal principles."

## LITERATURE.

## THE PERIODICALS (OCTOBER).

The number of the *WESTMINSTER REVIEW* just published is perhaps less attractive this quarter than usual, but has some solid articles. The literary character of Lord John Russell is the subject of the first paper; and considering that most of his lordship's productions were published at least twenty, and some of them nearly thirty years ago, we think it rather hard that they should be thus dragged forward to receive formal sentence at the hands of the critic; but this, we suppose, is one of the penalties paid by a Premier for the enjoyment of high place. We are told that "there is in his writings no originality of thought, no vigorous reasoning, no evidence even of industrious research;" nor can the reviewer "favour his pretensions to literary rank even in the smallest degree"—a circumstance which we dare say will occasion his lordship but little disquietude. In some introductory remarks it is stated, that "of thirty Premiers since the Hanoverian dynasty, three at most have leaped the bar of aristocratic prejudice; and they not on a literary Pegasus,—not from their achievements in literature and science, but by the force of party zeal, and the intrigue and warmth of political hostility." "While in France, Prussia, Saxony, and other continental states, literary and scientific men have been purposely selected to fill the highest offices in the State, in England high birth has ever been, and still is considered the first criterion of ministerial fitness—the indispensable and often sole quality of a Premier."

The article on the causes of poverty is somewhat vague and purposeless. That on "Irish Clearances and the Improvement of Waste Lands" is far better, and deserving of particular notice at the present time. The facts to which attention is called, are both distressing and alarming. "A deep-seated and general feeling has come to be entertained by the owner of the soil, that Ireland must be largely cleared of the Irish as a first step towards the improvement of their properties," and this clearance "can eventuate in nothing else than in the transfer of the supposed excess of population to England." The Irish landlords, no longer able to increase their political influence by the subdivision of holdings, have discovered that the system which they once fostered is injurious, and now seek to destroy it by wholesale evictions. In addition to those which have been ejected by legal process, thousands of tenants have been got rid of by *involuntary emigration*, being driven by hunger on ship-board, and in many cases only to die there instead of on their own soil. "There is," says one of the Poor-law Inspectors, "positively a race among the landlords to get their poor into the workhouses, in order to be able to pull down their houses and clear their estates." The result has been a large decrease in the number of small occupants—probably more than a quarter of a million, and with their families comprising near a million and a half of souls! "Where have these millions wandered? What position do they now occupy?" Of the incapacity of the Irish landlords we have further, though needless proofs. "A careless, spendthrift, indolent race," their short-sighted desire is to "turn Ireland into one great grazing country, and substitute sheep and bullocks for her native population." "With individual exceptions," says Mr. Mill, in his recent work, "the owners of Irish estates do nothing but drain them of their produce; their only notion of improvement consists in turning out the people to beg or starve." "It is a common practice for landlords and agents to serve *yearly notices to quit* on all tenants at will, in order to keep them completely *in hand*, and liable to be at any time turned out by summary ejectment at a few days' notice! And this in a country where three-fourths of the soil is held under tenancy at will?" And it is to enable them to carry on this warfare with humanity in undisturbed security, that the Roman Catholic clergy are to be bribed by Government pay! The remedy suggested by the reviewer is "a large reclamation of the waste land which abounds in the western, that is, the most distressed part of the island—carried on as a public work;" our space, however, will not allow us to refer in detail to this part of the article.

"The French Republic" is an outline of recent events occurring in France, in continuation of the former paper on the subject in this Review. It contains some forcible references to the state of things in our own country. "Louis Philippe alone was the author of the Revolution of February,"—"the insurgents were merely the expounders of a nation's will." Our own statesmen, it is added, should take warning. There is much in their policy which *must* end, and end soon. The people have hitherto been patient, but "how long will public indignation at the slow progress of the organic and administrative reform, most needed, be restrained within the limits of order by the middle-class dread of revolution?" The remaining articles of the number are—"Indian Epic Poetry," "The Iron Manufacture of South Wales" (full of interesting information), "Entomology" (scarcely

less so), "The Schleswig and Holstein Question," together with reviews of foreign books and miscellaneous articles as usual.

The political article in *BLACKWOOD* is entitled, "Continental Revolutions—Irish Rebellion—English Distress"—a sufficiently gloomy theme at the best, and rendered still more so by the way in which it is treated. The revolutionary tide is declared to be on the ebb, and the public mind, both here and on the continent, somewhat sobered by the calamities produced by a rampant democracy. "Repeal," we are told, "means the massacre of the Protestants, and the division of their estates at a convenient opportunity; Chartism in England means general plunder, murder, and conflagration, the moment there is the least chance of perpetrating these crimes with impunity." As to Ireland, we are told that its miseries are all attributable to this—that

"England has given Ireland institutions and political franchises for the exercise of which it is wholly disqualified by temperament, habit, and political advancement. We have put edged tools into the hands of children, and we are astonished that they have mangled their limbs. We have emancipated from necessary control the Bedouin and the savage. The whole machinery of a free constitution—those institutions under which the Anglo-Saxons have so long flourished on both sides the Atlantic—are utter destruction to the semi-barbarous Celtic race, to which they have been extended. Grand juries and petty juries, self-governments, municipalities, county and borough elections, popular representatives, public meetings, hustings, declarations, platform exaggerations, a licentious press, and all the other evils attendant on republican and semi-republican institutions, are utterly destructive to the impassioned, priest-ridden, ignorant Celtic tribes in the south and west of Ireland—a paternal despotism is what they require!"

The attack on the present currency system is, perhaps, the best portion of the article. There is also a notice of Mr. Mills' new work on political economy, very able, and far more temperately written than *Blackwood's* papers on this subject have usually been. In a note the writer admits the income-tax, as now levied, to be most inequitable. "A Few Words about Novels" is a dialogue, carried on, by one of the parties at least, with most edifying self-sufficiency. Not content with fiercely attacking the Puritanic school who object to fiction altogether, "Aquilus" assures the curate with whom he is conversing that "it is not true that such reading enervates the mind, but that he firmly believes that it strengthens it in every respect, and fits it for every action;" while the curate, not to be outdone in absurdity, says, "Among all the young women whom I have been acquainted with, I should say that the novel-readers are not only the best-informed, but of the best nature, and some capable of setting examples of a sublime fortitude;" and goes on to say that the best nurses, if not wives, are to be found in that class! It will not, therefore, excite much surprise to hear Hannah More spoken of thus:—"I abominate everything Hannah More wrote, vain, clever, idolized, spoiled woman as she was—her style all riddle-ma-ree. Read her lauded 'What is Prayer?' and you are reading a conundrum. An affected woman, she wrote affectedly, with a kind of unwomanly dishonesty." The criticism on Dickens and some other writers is far more to our taste. "The Caxtons," "Life in the Far West," "A Legend of Antwerp," and a curious and subtle critique on "Byron's Address to the Ocean," which will astonish the admirers of those celebrated lines, make up the lighter contents of the number.

There is not an article in this month's *ECLECTIC REVIEW* which will not be thought entertaining as well as instructive. "John Howe and Jeremy Taylor" compares and contrasts those theological giants with great skill. "The Niger Expedition" is an outline narrative, the melancholy particulars of which are gathered from Captain Allen's work. The "Memoir of Dr. Channing" is written in a liberal spirit; as is also the notice of the "Final Memorials of Charles Lamb," of whose lovely character the writer speaks in terms of glowing admiration. We cannot help quoting a short passage relating to the insanity of Lamb's sister. Frank Stone could hardly select a more affecting subject for a picture:—

"Mary Lamb's disorder ever and anon returned, notwithstanding all care; and then she was for the time conducted by the kind brother to the friendly asylum. On one occasion they were met by Charles Lloyd, walking in the Hoxton Fields; their eyes were red with weeping, and their friend finally discovered that they were then on their way to the asylum, and were thus lingering awhile, affectionately, before they could make up their minds to part. Occasionally, as Lamb's income improved, they made a holiday excursion into the country, to visit their friends the Coleridges, or Hazlitts, or Wordsworths; but it was with fear and trembling that they did this, as the anticipation of such a pleasure more than once brought on Mary's complaint, and the journey was obliged to be given up. On all such occasions she used, in packing up her dresses, to put up amongst them a strait-jacket for herself, in case of a paroxysm coming on while they were out."

The review of Mr. Thompson's book, "Life in Russia, or the Discipline of Despotism," gives a frightful account of the social condition of the people. Venality is described as a national quality. The Empress Catherine openly espoused it; and on some honest but ill-paid functionary

petitioning for an increase of salary, she significantly exclaimed, "The ass! I have led him to the manger and he refuses to eat!" The paternal government of the Emperor crushes all independence of thought and action. "Everything is gloomy and silent in Russia; the reciprocal mistrust of the government and the people dispels all mirth. The minds of the people are drilled, and their feelings weighed and measured, as if every pleasure and passion had to answer for their actions to some rigid confessor in the disguise of an agent of police." The police who constitute the agents of this system are described as being amongst the most worthless members of a worthless community, notoriously living by exactions and crimes. The personal character of the Emperor is more favourably drawn; for while to his empire he is an imperial dictator, in his family he is kind, indulgent, and confiding. "Artificial Manures" is treated "in terms as delicate as the nature of the subject permits." The review of "The Session of 1848" is vigorous and searching. The Premier and his government are the subjects of the writer's severest censure. "Borrowing to lend on bad security, without profit," is the pithy description of the financial policy of the Whigs. "Retrograde, extravagant, despotic, and Popish misgovernment—these are the things of which Lord John Russell is the representative." Of Lord George Bentinck, whose death is briefly noticed at the close of the article, it is said, "His indignation put Russell in the place of Peel. As a legislator his influence was evil, and his influence on our history has injured our country."

TAIT'S MAGAZINE has of late greatly changed in its general character; whether for the better or the worse, is a question to be decided by individual tastes. Its contents have become almost exclusively political; the literary papers have assumed a political hue; and the greatest efforts are made to keep pace with the daily press in commenting on public events. "What's to be done?" is the opening article in the present number; and is an inquiry into the causes of commercial pressure. Our "dishonest money laws" are attacked, and the cultivation of waste lands and formation of railways in the rural districts recommended; finally, an enlargement of the basis of the constitution is absolutely necessary. "The present House of Commons never will inspire confidence; and, very probably, no other House will ever be elected by the existing constituencies better calculated to save the country. A franchise fairly including all classes, is our best political hope." "The Dangers of our New Establishment in the Indian Archipelago," is a waspish attack on the "dozen crotchetty Radicals who, adroitly seizing upon a moment of difficulty, raised a cry of economy at the £10,000 proposed for the new settlement of Labuan." The tone of the article is insufferably arrogant; and the stupid, malicious cant about "the worthy Solon of the Tower Hamlets" is reproduced with as much assurance as though it had not lost all novelty. "Revolution in Europe" has become a standing dish with TAIT; and the sketch of the Continental events of the last month is, as usual, characterised by tact and cleverness. The "Facts and Statistics of the French Revolution" is the first of a series of papers, and is devoted to a notice of Fourier and his doctrines. "The Counsellor: a Tale of Communism;" and "Miranda: a Tale of the Revolution," are "continuations." A record of the railway and joint-stock business of the month, and obituary notices, are among the new features of the magazine to which we have alluded.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW. We think we have seen at least sprightlier numbers of this Review. One of the most noticeable articles is that bearing the odd title of "The Church, the Kingdom, and the Isle of Man," which is full of very curious particulars respecting a place which to the public generally is almost a *terra incognita*. It seems that as lately as 1825, the Duke of Atholl sold the ancient kingdom of Man to the British crown for £400,000; so that her Majesty "is King of Man, and, according to old custom, ought to be crowned as such within the island." The greater portion of the article is devoted to the ecclesiastical history of the island. The see of Sodor and Man consists of no less than thirty islands. The exact legal title of the bishop runs thus, "Bishop of Man, of Sodor, of Sodor and Man, and of Sodor of Man"—Sodor having been taken from the name of the cathedral church in Iona. Among the many bishops who have held sway in the island, Bishop Wilson, who died in 1702, appears to great advantage. He was originally chaplain to the Earl of Derby, and had the bishopric forced upon him. It is stated of him that while tutor to Lord Strange, the Earl's son, as his pupil, was one day

"Going to set his name to a paper which he had not read, Mr. Wilson dropped some burning sealing-wax on his finger: the sudden pain made him very angry, but his tutor soon pacified him by observing that he did it to impress a lasting remembrance on his mind never to sign or seal any paper he had not first read and attentively examined."—Dr. Isaac Barrow.

Out of an income of but £300 a-year he contrived to build a new church, and he spent £1,400 on the improvement of the episcopal demesne. In an entry in his diary he says:—

"I supplied the vacant village of Kirk Arbory for one year, and applied the income towards building a new vicarage-house: with this and what I begged, and two pounds ten shillings I gave myself, and the assistance of the parish, we have erected one of the best houses in the diocese.

"On one occasion he had ordered a cloak to be made by his tailor, giving him directions that it should be quite plain, with merely a button and a loop to fasten it. 'But, my lord (said the tailor) what would become of the button-makers and their families if every one thought in that way? they would be starved outright!' 'Do you say so, John? (replied the good bishop.) Why, then, button it all over, John!'

It is needless to say, that such a man was beloved, and that his memory is revered. It is stated, as one of the finest testimonials ever paid to worth, that

"Cardinal Fleury, prime minister of France, ordered all the privateers of his country to spare the Isle of Man, in consideration of the almost godlike character of him who was the spiritual ruler and the general benefactor of the island."

Dissenters were, it appears, scarce enough in the island in those days; but now alas, its historian has to write in these lugubrious terms:—

"Almost within the short space of a mile, which intervenes between the church-yard where Bishop Wilson was interred, and the palace where he lived, are two meeting-houses filled each succeeding Sunday with parishioners zealously attached to Wesleyanism, in its different connexions; and such is pretty generally the case throughout the island. The meeting-houses outnumber the parish churches in the proportion of four to one, and the congregations assembling within each, respectively, are very nearly in the same proportion. Yet the people are not hostile to, though alienated from, the Church, and there is far more hope of their restoration to the conformity of their forefathers, than is the case with the Separatists on the other side of the water."

The titles of the other articles are, "History and Religion of Mankind," deduced from the Mosaic writings—"Germany during the Reformation;" being an analysis of the contents of the third volume of Ranke's History of the Popes—"A Pilgrimage to Rome," by Hobart Seymour—"The Panslavic and Germanic Movements"—"Polyglot Standard Versions"—"Mithridates Minor"—a Paper on Language—and "A Review of the late Session." Of Lord John Russell, it is said in this last article:—

"The bills he has tendered and abandoned—the schemes half built up and then demolished like a castle of cards—the shabby make-shifts, which prove only a fertility in cobbling—are not the things we look for in a prime minister of England. We look there for all that education, talent, genius, and experience can give a man, and the premier should have had all these; but we do not look for that mortifying want of energy which has characterised the Ministry throughout."

We observe that D'Aubigné's work, "Germany, England, and Scotland," meets with as unfavourable a reception at the hands of this Reviewer as it has done elsewhere, being described as a feeble, crude, and inaccurate work. The Reviewer does not at all relish D'Aubigné's allusions to the English Church and its clergy.

The CHRISTIAN REFORMER has several good papers. "Roger Williams" is a sketch of that worthy's career. Under the head of "Bishops Rundle and Hampden," we have a curious parallel between recent occurrences and an incident in the history of Sir Robert Walpole's administration; and it is stated that Dr. Arnold, previous to publishing his "Church Reform," was told that he stood in the list for a early Bishopric, but that the author of such a work could not be tolerated by the clergy. In noticing the debate on the *Regium Donum*, the editor strongly protests against the course adopted by the opponents of the grant and their personal attacks on the distributors.

The ANGLO-JEWISH MAGAZINE starts with the commencement of the year 5609 of the Jewish era. Its contents are political, literary, and religious, and the writing has a dash of orientalism about it which imparts to it the merit of freshness.

The SCOTTISH TEMPERANCE REVIEW, among other spirited articles, complains of the "noisy nonsense" of the *Times* in its notice of George Cruickshanks' Temperance Pictures, and in milder terms, comments on our critique, and tells us that the pictures are intended not for our "inebriate acquaintance," but for ourselves and others not yet converted to the teetotal cause.

RESIGNATION TO THE WILL OF GOD.—We should have a thorough persuasion that nothing befalls us by chance, or by the mere agency of inferior causes, but that all proceedeth from the dispensation, or with the allowance of God: that all occurrences (however adverse and cross to our desires) are well consistent with the justice, wisdom, and goodness of God: that all, even the most bitter and sad accidents, do (according to God's purpose) conduce to our good: an entire resignation of our wills to the will of God, and a hopeful confidence in Him for the removal and easement of our afflictions, and for His grace to support them calmly, cheerfully, and courageously.—Dr. Isaac Barrow.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.—This religious association, which has been formed for the purpose of uniting all sects of evangelical Protestants in one bond of union, held the first meeting of its October conference at Freemasons' hall, London, on Wednesday morning. The proceedings, which were merely of a preliminary character, commenced with devotional exercises, presided over by Dr. Leischield, who also addressed the meeting on the progress and prospects of the Society. Resolutions for the guidance of the Society, which had been framed and adopted at the Bristol conference some time since, were adopted on the motion of R. C. Glynn, Esq.; Sir C. Eardley was then called to the chair. The chairman alluded to the commotions which had been recently and were still going on in various parts of the world, one consequence of which was to deprive them of the presence of many of their continental friends who had been present at previous conferences. Many of them had been driven from their parishes and flocks by the so called spurious liberality which unhappily was spreading over the continent of Europe. Their French friends did not know the moment when they might be fugitives, from that spirit of infidelity which was spreading among their countrymen. In such a state of things the position of our country was a subject for congratulation, and he trusted that its tranquillity would be turned to good purpose, through the labours of the Evangelical Alliance. The meeting then proceeded to the appointment of sections to consider and report on the subjects of infidelity, Popery, Sabbath-breaking, France, Italy, and Switzerland. After a long and desultory discussion the appointment on the three first were perfected and the remainder were postponed. One or two business committees were then appointed, and the conference adjourned. A tea meeting took place on Thursday night, at the same place, which was by far the most numerously attended, comprising nearly 1,000 ladies and gentlemen of various religious denominations, as also a considerable number of ministers of the Established Church. On Friday, a public meeting was held at Exeter-hall, Sir C. E. Eardley in the chair. Amongst the speakers were Mr. Plumtree, M.P., the Rev. W. Arthur, of Paris, and the Rev. T. Hawes, of Bristol.

#### LITERARY MISCELLANY.

THE PLEASURE ARISING FROM INDUSTRY IN OUR CALLINGS.—Nor is that man less deceived, that thinks to maintain a constant tenure of pleasure by a continual pursuit of sports and recreations. The most voluptuous and loose person breathing, were he but tied to follow his hawks and his hounds, his dice and his courtships, every day, would find it the greatest torment and calamity that could befall him; he would fly to the mines and galleys for his recreation, and to the spade and the mattock for a diversion from the misery of a continual uninterrupted pleasure. But, on the contrary, the providence of God has so ordered the course of things, that there is no action, the usefulness of which has made it the matter of duty and of a profession, but a man may bear the continual pursuit of it without loathing and satiety. The same shop and trade that employs a man in his youth employs him also in his age. Every morning he rises fresh to his hammer and anvil; he passes the day singing; custom has naturalized his labour to him; his shop is his element, and he cannot with any enjoyment of himself live out of it.—Dr. South.

ARISTOTLE AND SOLOMON.—Solomon says, "There is nothing new under the sun;" and I may illustrate this by showing that, as probably Paley borrowed much from the "Ethics" of Aristotle, so Aristotle himself borrowed from other sources. A Jew, who kept a bazaar, came one day to my rooms to exhibit a bill of his goods. He saw a volume of Aristotle lying upon the table—took it up, and read it with great fluency. "I was intended," said he, "for a rabbi, and these matters were once very familiar to me. Does it not," he continued, "sometimes strike you that you have read much of this in another place?" "Yes," I replied; "I sometimes think that there are parts of the Bible very like what I occasionally meet with in this book." "Exactly so," said he: "and no wonder! When Alexander visited Jerusalem, it is not probable that he would forget his tutor's request to send him the learned works of the nations he conquered. We may, therefore, readily suppose that Aristotle was not ignorant of the writings of Solomon; and there are obvious reasons why he should not acknowledge the sources whence he derived whatever he might choose to borrow from our sacred books." I have frequently since thought of the Jew's remark, and it seems very possible that he was not far wrong.—*Church and State Gazette*.

CHANGES IN THE CLIMATE OF EUROPE.—Those who have read the ancients with attention, conclude that the degrees of cold are at this time much less severe than they were formerly. The rivers in Gaul, namely, the Loire and the Rhone, were regularly frozen over every year, so that frequently whole armies, with their carriages and baggage, could march over them. Even the Tiber froze at Rome; and Juvenal says positively, that it was requisite to break the ice in winter, in order to come at the water of the river. Many passages in Horace suppose the streets of Rome to be full of ice and snow. Ovid assures us that the Black Sea was frozen annually, and appeals for the truth of this to the governor of the province, whose name he mentions. He also relates several circumstances concerning that climate, which at present agree only with Norway and Sweden. The forests of Thrace and Pannonia were full of bears and wild boars, in like manner as now the forests of the north. The northern part of Spain was little inhabited for the same cause. In short, all the ancients who mention

the climate of Gaul, Germany, Pannonia, and Thrace, speak of it as insupportable, and agree that the ground was covered with snow the greatest part of the year, being incapable of producing olives, grapes, and most other fruits. It is easy to conceive that the forest being cleared away, the face of the country cultivated, and the marshy places drained, the moist exhalations which generate cold must be considerably lessened, and that the rays of the sun must have a freer access to warm the earth. The same thing has happened in North America, since the Europeans have carried there their accustomed industry. The history of the north leaves us no room to doubt that there have been vast forests cut down, and by this single means extensive marshes have been dried up, and converted into land fit for cultivation. Without mentioning the general causes which insensibly effect the destruction of forests, it was common to set these on fire, in order to procure fertile fields. A King of Sweden was surnamed the Wood-cutter, for having grubbed up and cleared vast provinces, and felled the trees with which it was covered. Nor were they less cleared away in Norway and Denmark. Thus a change in the climate must long have preceded that in the manners.—*Mallet's Northern Antiquities*.—*Bohn's Antiquarian Library*.

**THE ASCENT OF MOUNT VESUVIUS.**—Looking up, we perceived the steep sides of the mountain were covered thickly with ashes, and in touching the substance, the foot sank deep into the soft yielding mass. The labour of ploughing through this stuff is very great; the strongest young men of our party frequently sank down. For myself, seated in the chair, I was dragged up for a time quietly enough, till two half-naked fellows rushed forward, instantly laid hold of the poles of my chair, and tried to wrest them from my leaders. A fight began, each ruffian had a stick, and they struck one another with the utmost violence on the head; blood spouted forth; I shouted and laid on the combatants with my cane. No more regard was paid to me than if I were a lump of lava in the chair, which was tossed about according to the fluctuations of the contest. The battle ended, the miscreants bound handkerchiefs round their heads, and proceeded during the remainder of the ascent peaceably. The contest had been to decide who should be the bearers. They received a dollar for three-quarters of an hour's work—a prize in this country—hence the battle, which I was informed was quite a usual occurrence. When it was possible to look about, I saw the face of the mountain to our right was covered with lumps of congealed lava, lying in broken masses over its surface, and over which one or two individuals slowly picked their way. The lazzaroni prefer toiling up through the ashes, which covered the side of the mountain where we were. As we approached the summit, I saw soldiers with fixed bayonets, being the guard placed here, and absolutely necessary for the preservation of peace, if not of life. Deposited to my great joy on the edge of the ascent, I felt at once a great heat, perceiving immediately no cause for it. A person thrust into my hand a white stout stick, and demanded a paul; he then took it from me, ran a little way before me, and pressed it into the soil, and drew it out on fire. I found myself in an extensive plain of lava poured out, and pouring from, the side of Vesuvius. The colour of the lava near me was black, but thrusting the stick down, it yielded easily to the pressure, and the red fire appeared through the orifice. A little further on the lava was moving very slowly, like thick mud rolling down the hill. As we advanced, the heat became greater, and it varied according as our path lay along the layers of fresh lava. There was a large, comparatively level plain, before and up to the base of the cone, which led to the crater. To get over to its base, fields of hot lava must be crossed; and in some places the heat was oppressive. There were little elevations scattered over this plain, on which the guides would lead us to stand and look around. A number of professional beggars persecute the stranger, and prevent him enjoying one moment's peace. Some roast eggs in the lava; others dip a coin, and raise it embedded in the volcanic matter, which soon hardened like a crust, retaining the coin firmly. Others thrust in sticks, and brandished them in the air on fire; some drag the stranger to look through a crevice at the fiery matter underneath. This burning torrent, which produced the appearances we beheld, rushed not from the crater, but from the sides of the conical mountain, and was brightly visible from Naples in the darkness of the night.—*Italy in the Nineteenth Century*.

#### GLEANINGS.

##### PRIESTCRAFT.

Religion oft is marketed like trade;  
Much bought and sold; large profits by it made;  
The Church and State are partners far and wide,  
They huxter for the most, and then divide.

J. R. PRIOR.

The *Atlas* says that Cuffey, having demanded to be "tried by his peers," ought to have had a jury of 108 tailors; nine tailors being required to make one man.

**CHEAP NEWSPAPERS.**—The *North British Mail*, which was formerly published at 8d., has raised its price to 4d.

It is estimated that the harvest of the United States this season is sufficient to feed half the people on the globe abundantly.

Mr. W. Lassell, the astronomer of Liverpool, announces to the *Times* the discovery of "an eighth satellite of the planet Saturn."

"There is one class of landlords," says the *Sligo*

Champion, "fast disappearing from the face of the earth—we mean the middlemen. In Sligo they are all 'diddl'd, dish'd,' what with poor rates, the potato blight, their desire for display, and love of good living."

The *Manchester Examiner* says: "In the Game Lists we have never detected the name of a Minister of the Dissenting churches."

**A WHOLESALE JACK KETCH.**—A London cheese-monger thus concludes his circular—"Families waited on for orders, and punctually executed."

It was decided, the other day, by one of the Scotch Sheriff's Courts, in a claim of debt, that the societies of Oddfellows, Foresters, Druids, &c., having centres, with divisions and branches, are contrary to the 39th George III. c. 79, and, therefore, have no legal standing.

An immense link chain, measuring about 2,400 yards in length, and weighing more than 14 tons, has been made in Birmingham, in order to be used on an incline.

It is calculated that the London pleasure goers spend, on Sundays throughout the year, in the adjacent villages, the enormous sum of *one million three hundred thousand pounds*.

The *Nottingham Review* mentions that several gentlemen at Mansfield, the Duke of Portland at their head, were taking measures to bring about the enclosure of Sherwood Forest.

Dr. Challice, a writer on cholera, considers that the Asiatic form of this disease is propagated by a minute insect, which traverses districts, like the blight with us.

**THE LATE LORD GEORGE BENTINCK.**—The *Post, Herald*, and other Protectionist papers, are promoting a movement for the erection of a monument to this distinguished nobleman in Westminster Abbey.

The apartments of the ex-Queen in the Tuilleries are now used as an infantry barrack, as is the ancient saloon of the aides-de-camp.

The Roman correspondent of the *Daily News* says of the Eternal City:—"Every hotel is closed up here. There is not a single wealthy stranger in Rome. The resident nobility have moved off to the mountains round about. Most of the foreign artists have left months ago in despair of employment."

The Lakes of Killarney, we learn from the *Western Star*, have been and are comparatively deserted this year.

A Swansea journal relates that a widow lately purchased two pigs on credit, and immediately resold them for ready money, which she expended in paying for a license for her third marriage.

**JEWS IN RUSSIA.**—According to a new ukase, Jews are now permitted to carry on trade throughout the whole of Russia.—*L' Orient*.

The Manchester Eye Hospital has been established thirty-three years, and has effected 50,000 cures.

The *Sheffield Iris* was published for the last time last week.

The military encampment on Kersal Moor has been broken up.

Lord Byron, who had a constant struggle against his better nature and nobler convictions, mournfully acknowledged "the Christian enjoys an advantage over the infidel in having an exalted hope through life."

At a Baptist missionary meeting in Nottingham, the Rev. W. Newbiggin said that in a country in South Africa, in order to save a certain "ornament," consisting of knobs of clay fastened on the back of the head, the natives stick a wooden fork in the ground, and sleep all night with their neck between the prongs! Almost as bad, the rev. gentleman thought, as tight-lacing.

The *Gateshead Observer* shows that the playing at soldiers in yeomanry cavalries costs the country a cool £100,000 a-year: "£2,337," says our contemporary, "is the average annual cost of the Northumberland regiment of featherbed soldiers, or £5 4s. 5d. per noodle!"—Really gentlemen, if they must thus ride soldiering hobbies, might defray the cost themselves. Fox-hunters and horse-racers pay for their own hounds and horses.—*Jerrold's Newpaper*.

**ICEBROS IN THE ATLANTIC.**—Intelligence has reached Lloyd's that several immense masses of ice were now drifting with the currents of the Atlantic Ocean, in the direct track of shipping passing between the United Kingdom and British North America and the United States. The "Blonde," Capt. Crawford, which arrived at Greenock on Friday, saw one of them on the 5th ult., in long. W. 49, lat. N. 48, upwards of 600 feet high and a mile in length, the atmosphere in its vicinity being completely chilled. The loss of the "President" steam-ship is ascribed to a collision with one of these immense masses of ice.

**LEADING ARTICLES.**—When Mr. Newberry, the bookseller of St. Paul's Churchyard, projected a new weekly paper in the year 1758, fearing that the occurrences during the intervals of its publication would not furnish matter enough to fill its pages, he applied to Dr. Johnson to furnish an essay for each paper on some subject suitable to the taste of newspaper readers. "The Idlers" first appeared in *Newberry's Universal Chronicle*, and were the parents of our present "leaders."

**ANECDOTE OF A CORNISH LOBSTER.**—Dr. Borlase relates the following marvellous anecdote of instinct displayed by a Cornish lobster:—"As he was fishing one day, a fisherman observed a lobster to attempt an oyster several times; but as soon as the lobster approached, the oyster shut his shell. At length the lobster, having waited with great attention till the oyster opened again, made a shift to throw a stone between the gaping shells, sprung upon his prey, and devoured it."

**A WINTER GARDEN AT VAUXHALL.**—It is proposed to transform Vauxhall into a winter garden. It is said that the four long avenues which form the large quadrangle at present, are to be increased about twenty feet, that is, ten feet on either side. The roof of this pathway is to be raised a considerable height, and the whole of it is to be enclosed by means of a panorama of the overland route to India. This is to commence with Marseilles, then are to follow Malta, Alexandria, and all the principal points in the journey. These walks will lead directly to the Waterloo ground, which is to be covered in and converted into a hippodrome, where are to appear all the splendours of the chariot race, and

other performances. To the right of the hippodrome there will be constructed a large conservatory, to form a very agreeable promenade, and gas is to simulate the sun.—*The Builder*.

The *Liverpool Mercury* cautions the public against taking gilt sixpences for half-sovereigns, a number of such sixpences being now in circulation.

The total amount of railway calls for the present month of October, is estimated at £1,200,000, and the amount already called for the next month (November) at £867,500.

**THE TOAD AND THE SPIDER.**—(No FABLE.)

"As I was taking my accustomed walk one quiet morning last week, on the Wattisham-road, near Bideford, Suffolk, my attention was attracted by a small sound issuing a short distance before me. When I drew nearer I discovered that it came from a large toad that was struggling hard to get towards the ditch. My impression at first was, that it had been injured by some missile, I therefore felt more anxious about the welfare of one of those of God's creatures which is more sinned against than sinning. It now reached the grassy side of the road, crawled to a plantain root and bit the leaves with eagerness, still making a faint wail as in pain, which I have no doubt it was. I stood towards it for a moment in silence, and considered what I could do to render it relief, when, upon my closer inspection, greatly to my surprise, I discovered that a spider was fixed on the back of the toad, and by my endeavouring to dislodge the rider with my stick, they both rolled plump into the water. After having waited some time for the result of this, I saw that the toad had got rid of the spider, which, probably, escaped, as guilt generally does if it can avoid retributive punishment, and panted on the edge of the water to recover itself from the fangs of its persecutor. This incident appeared to me a similitude of the ways of many spiders in the world, who fasten on others, and drive them out of one place into another, from which if they escape with their lives in their skins they may think themselves fortunate. From my observations in natural history I believe that in many instances toads and spiders feel enmity towards each other; and that in so far as their catching insects is concerned, their pursuits are similar for the appeasing of hunger. I should conjecture the spider had taken this excursive method of persecuting the toad for some supposed or known aggression; though I would not infer that reason does not rise above the laws of instinct, so as to teach mankind to do good for evil, and therefore lead to the hope that good may come out of it. If any spirit is to be abhorred more than another, it is the 'lex talionis,' the law of retaliation, or tit for tat.

#### BIRTHS.

Oct. 7, at Woburn-park, Surrey, the Hon. Mrs. LOCKE KING, of a son.

#### MARRIAGES.

Oct. 8, at the Independent Chapel, Bridgwater, by the Rev. J. Shaw, Mr. THOMAS KIRKPATRICK, of Walsall, draper, to MARY CLUNIS, eldest daughter of the late J. W. M'MICHAEL, grocer, of the former town.

Oct. 4, at the Independent Chapel, Ware, by the Rev. G. Pearce, Mr. THOMAS WADE, of Clarendon-square, London, to ROSA, daughter of Mr. BLAND, Westmill-road, Ware.

Oct. 8, at River-terrace Kirk, by the Rev. Dr. CARLIS, of Mary's Abbey, Dublin, SAMUEL BROWN, Esq., of London and Grenada, to ANNA WARREN, only daughter of the late Rev. J. WILSON, of River-terrace, Islington.

Oct. 5, at St. Paul's Church, Islington, by the Rev. JOHN SANDYS, M.A., JOHN WARNER, Esq., surgeon, of St. Paul's-terrace, to LYDIA, twin daughter of T. ALLAN, Esq., of the same place.

Oct. 5, at Bromley Chapel, Kent, by the Rev. G. Rose, of Bermondsey, Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, of Bermondsey, to MARTHA, fifth daughter of the late Mr. H. TOWN, of the Deptford Lower-road.

Oct. 5, by license, at the Baptist Chapel, Earls Barton, by the Rev. J. H. BROOKS, of Ridgmount, the father of the bridegroom, ROBERT HAYWOOD BROOKS, Esq., of Banbury, Oxon, to HANNAH MARIA, youngest daughter of G. CAVES, Esq., of Grenoside-hall, Northamptonshire.

Oct. 5, at St. Luke's Church, Norwood, WILLIAM GEORGE, second son of J. FREEMAN, Esq., of Plymouth, to ELIZABETH MARIA, youngest daughter of J. DICKINSON, Esq., of Norwood.

#### DEATHS.

Oct. 3, at her residence, Sherwood-villa, Leamington, Mrs. SHARMAN, widow of the late Samuel Sharman, Esq., of Wellington, Northamptonshire.

Oct. 4, suddenly, Mr. P. LAURENTS CAMPBELL, late Secretary of the South-Western Railway.

Oct. 4, at the Terrace, Die, Norfolk, after a lingering illness of twelve months' duration, borne with exemplary patience, aged 73, "in sure and certain hope of a blissful immortality."

Oct. 4, Mrs. WILDE, widow of the late J. WILDE, Esq., of Macclesfield, having been liable for many years to paroxysms of excruciating anguish, which the endur'd in a manner worthy of her profession as an unobtrusive follower of Christ.

Oct. 5, at St. John's Wood, aged 32, Miss MARY PHOEbe HARRISON, eldest daughter of the late Rev. J. Harrison, of Woburn, and sister of the Rev. J. O. Harrison, of Camden Town.

#### MONEY MARKET AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

The market for English Securities has been steady all the past week, with scarcely a nominal variation in prices until yesterday, when the further heavy fall in the Railway Market which then took place caused a temporary depreciation, but the quotation is now about the average of the past few weeks.

The following were the quotations this (Tuesday) evening at the close of business on the Exchange:—Three per Cent. Consols, 86*1/2* to 8*1/2*. Bank Stock, 19*1/2* to 19*1/4*. Reduced Threes were 88*1/2* to 8*1/2*. Three-and-a-Quarter per Cent., 87 to 8*1/2*; Long Annuities, 8*1/2*. India Stock, 23*1/2* to 23*1/4*; India Bonds, 32*1/2* to 35*1/2*. premium. Exchequer Bills, June, 30*1/2* to 33*1/2*; March, 23*1/2* to 36*1/2*. premium.

The Foreign Market has been very quiet, and, with the exception of a few bargains in Mexican and Portuguese Stock, scarcely any business has been transacted. In both the abovementioned a slight decline was experienced yesterday—from the same cause which has prejudiced the home market.

The Share Market still wears a most disheartening appearance. There is not a single line which has not greatly fallen since this day's sennight, and the tendency is still downward. Where all this is to end, we know.



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29	2 0 8	2 13 8	40	2 14 9	3 5 4
30	2 1 6	2 14 6	41	2 15 8	3 7 10
31	2 2 6	2 15 5	42	2 18 8	3 9 5
32	2 3 5	2 16 4	43	3 0 11	3 11 1
33	2 4 6	2 17 5	44	3 3 3	3 12 10
34	2 5 7	2 18 6	45	3 5 9	3 14 9
35	2 6 10	2 19 8			

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WILMER OWEN HARRIS,  
Secretary for London.  
Office, No. 12, Moorgate-street, September, 1848.

**E MIGRATION and COLONIZATION.—** IMMIGRATION being much required in Australia, New Zealand, &c., and as the supposed expense of outfit often prevents individuals emigrating, S. W. SILVER and CO., clothiers, outfitters and contractors (having a large interest to maintain in those colonies), have been advised to make known that they can supply OUTFITS for MALE or FEMALE EMIGRANTS from Four Pounds (net) upwards, or less when needful; and for children in proportion, at No. 4, Bishopsgate-street Within, opposite the London Tavern. S. W. Silver and Co., being the makers of nearly every article in all the outfits they supply, and as one of their objects is to promote emigration, they neither receive from agents nor pay the too-usual commission to any person introducing passengers to be fitted out, so that the passage and outfit may be procured at the least possible expense; but they will, on application, advise passengers how to obtain the most economic passage to the colonies. They have a representative in every Australian colony, to whom they ship clothing monthly; thus they would forward small parcels free of expense. Naval and military officers, midshipmen, cadets, civilians, ladies, &c., are outfitted as heretofore, at the Cabin-Passengers' Outfitting Warehouse, Nos. 66 and 67, Cornhill (the emigration outfitting being exclusively at No. 4, Bishopsgate-street Within), London, and each branch at St. George's Crescent, Liverpool.

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